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# ***JPRS Report***

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***PEOPLES OF ASIA  
& AFRICA***

9 SEPTEMBER 1987

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## SOVIET UNION PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA

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## ENGLISH SUMMARY OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, March-April 1987 pp 217-220

[Text] COOPERATION WITH THE USSR AND FORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES OF SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

Ye.G. ISHCHENKO

The article deals with the economic cooperation of the USSR with progressive Afro-Asian and Latin American countries at the stage of the intensification of the Soviet economy. Taking the theoretical conclusions of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR as a starting point, the article examines the process of weakening and in some instances of rupture of the traditional ties of states of socialist orientation with the world capitalist economy and their rapprochement with the world socialist system.

The formational role of the economic and technical cooperation is discussed in the context of the impact of the developed socialism on enhancing progressive trends in countries of socialist orientation. Elucidating the nature of economic relations of the USSR with countries of this group, the article emphasizes their willingness to introduce socialist elements in their economic policy, notably in their economic relations with other countries.

The article maintains that the Soviet economic aid fosters internal accumulation and revitalises self-development trends in countries of socialist orientation. It also examines the relationship between the adaptation of these countries' policy of rapid development of science and technology to the economic and technical cooperation with the USSR. The article demonstrates new forms of this cooperation, including that on the compensational basis and extended technical assistance, multilateral cooperation with other socialist states belonging to the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. It also touches on the optimisation of this economic cooperation. Special attention is paid to difficulties encountered by the economic and technical cooperation of the USSR with these countries as a result of the activation of the imperialist policy of destabilisation of the international economic situation and growing military expenditures.

## STRATEGIES OF TURKISH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

P.P. MOISEYEV, G.I. STARCHENKOV

The article examines the strategy of the Turkish economic development over the past sixty years. During the years from 1923 to 1950 the accent was mainly on the usage of internal resources. This model of economic autarchy was accounted for both by internal and external factors. The Turkish bourgeoisie, which came to power, was afraid to become dependent anew on Western monopolies, the foreign capital refused to channel investment to Turkey on new, unprivileged terms.

The first decade of the implementation of this strategy was based on principles of "economic liberalism", i.e. an all-round promotion of private entrepreneurship. Beginning with the early 1930s, when the private capital had proved to be unable to do away with stagnation, the ideas of protectionism and active government interference into the economic affairs came to be introduced.

In the 1950s the coming to power of the Democrat Party upholding the interests of the commercial capital, which had gained strength during the war, brought about a new model. It included an inflow of foreign loans as a major source of investment.

After the coup d'etat of 1960 the economic strategy underwent another substantial change: the goal to achieve a mature bourgeois society remained, it were the priorities and policy that were changed. The new government gave up the policy of laissez-faire and set out to draw and implement long-term development plans. The policy of multilateral cooperation, including that with the world of socialism, superseded unilateral policy of pro-Western orientation.

In the early 1980s to overcome the economic crisis the big bourgeoisie abandoned the Keynesian ideas of state capitalist regulation of economy and embraced the neo-conservative concept of self-regulated market economy. This found its practical implementation in the so-called Programme of Economic Stabilisation adopted January 24, 1980. This strategy seeks to modify the model of industrialisation (the top priority is accorded to the export-oriented industries) and thus change the position of Turkey in the international division of labor.

Thus, Turkey has tried all principal models of economic development of liberated nations which took the path of capitalist orientation. The gains achieved so far are modest.

## DISPUTATION AS A PHENOMENON OF ANCIENT CHINESE CULTURE

Yu.L. KROL

Over the past 25 years Soviet generalisations concerning the traditional Chinese culture laid accent largely on the identification of the specific features of the Chinese culture, as a whole. This fact bears relation, first

and foremost, to the interest in the culture of the period of political unity and the official ideology of the imperial era. This interest to some extent predisposes one to interpret the pre-imperial culture in terms of the imperial one. However, the Chinese culture would have hardly displayed such vitality and aptness for development, were it homogeneous and monolithic. Hence follows the importance of the investigation into the preconditions of its dynamics and elements of plurality and diversity, i.e. pluralism.

It is the pre-imperial culture that attracts attention in this regard. This culture embraced a number of points of departure different from and equal to each other, i.e. of state and personal standpoints in the political and spiritual life. Adherents of different standpoints entered into dialogical relations of disputation. Therefore the study of the latter provides a deeper insight into the pluralism of the Chinese culture. There has been some progress in the study of the philosophical disputation of the period from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D., but no real attempt to generalise from its results in terms of cultural history was made.

The present article is a first attempt to raise the issue of disputation as an important multiple cultural phenomenon of the Chan kuo and the early imperial period (from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D.). It has three aspects, as a minimum, namely philosophical disputation, court political one and disputation between litigants. The article is the first to outline the magnitude of this phenomenon. It demonstrates that the philosophical disputation (at least that of the time from the third to the first centuries B.C.) had general principles and the public disputation of philosophical and political matters was typical of the discussed period. The same refers to the disputation between litigants.

The article characterises in its own way the rhetorical tradition intimately linked with disputation. It is argued that adherents of the tsung heng school studied the works written by and devices applied by masters of diplomatic rhetoric.

The article also contains a comparative analysis of the traditions of rhetoric and disputation. It includes elucidation of the relation of such rhetorical devices as ch'ang tuan ("discussing) advantages and disadvantages") and lien lei ("joining (objects of different) kind"). This is followed by a theoretical inquiry into the correlation between "disputation" (p'ien) and "persuasion" (shui), two similar but not identical forms of dialogue. The analysis suggests kindred relation and mutual influence of the two traditions, whose carriers were often the same individuals. It is also suggested that in some respects the traditions in question differed substantially.

The article discusses specific socio-economic, ideological and cultural preconditions which gave rise to and fostered disputation and rhetoric tradition. These preconditions ranged from the development of private property to the formation of a social group of "scholars" (shih) often supported by magnates and kings of the states, from the emergence of a broad sphere of private life to the spread of relations of conflict and competition in the society, from the rationalisation of the ancient mytho-religious tradition to the appearance of personalities capable of individual



philosophising, formation of schools of thought and coming into existence of a situation of political and spiritual pluralism.

The impact of the ancient disputation on the Chinese culture was a profound one. Apart from philosophy and rhetoric, it had its bearing on literature (the Han fu, the genre of "fictitious disputes"), historiography, state system, law-court, diplomacy, social life and, finally, the Han ideological and cultural synthesis. As a phenomenon of the period of political disunity it fertilised the early imperial culture.

The article is based on a variety of Chinese historical, philosophical and literary works from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.

"SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES OF LITERATURES": THE CONCEPT AS VIEWED BY AN INDOLOGIST

S.D. SEREBRIANY

Slovak literary scholars (the late S. Smatlak, his pupil D. Durisin and others) have elaborated a concept which they style in English as "specific interliterary communities" but which it seems better to render as "specific communities of literatures." The article is an attempt to apply this concept to the material of Indian literatures and to interpret it in a broader historical and cultural context.

Modern humanities, like modern science, are products of Western culture. Their main concepts crystalized in the cultural atmosphere of the twentieth-century Western Europe. Today, however, it is increasingly realised that not all of these concepts adequately reflect the reality of Eastern Europe, let alone the non-European East. One of these concepts is "nation," which in the twentieth-century Europe came to be considered the highest form of human community. Accordingly, in the field of literary studies, "national literature" was and, by and large, is still considered the main and natural, as it were, unit of research. Quite often it is tacitly assumed that as a "national literature" "belongs" to (is an exclusive property of) a "nation," it cannot in any comparable way "belong" to any other "nation."

To dispute these simplified notions the Slovak scholars came out with a concept of "specific communities of literatures." Referring initially to the history of their own and neighbouring Eastern European literatures, these scholars pointed out that quite often strictly demarcated "borders" between literatures did not exist and what was conventionally taken for "separate literatures" may in fact intermingle in many ways. "A literature" usually implies a multitude of authors and texts, on the one hand, and a multitude of readers (and/or listeners) who "consume" these texts, on the other. So, if some authors and/or texts may be said to belong to two (or three, or more) literatures, we may speak about "specific communities of literatures." Such a community exists, for instance, between Czech and Slovak literatures and also between Slovak and Hungarian literatures, between the three Eastern Slav literatures (Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian), between the several Southern Slav literatures, between the several literatures of Spain (Spanish, Catalan, Galician and Basque). Last but not least, we may recall that some major European languages (English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese) are

used as a medium of expression, each of them, by several more or less autonomous literatures, which also form "specific communities."

Anyone acquainted with the Indian literary scene is aware of the fact that in India there were and still are many (and various types of) "specific communities of literatures." In a sense, Indian literatures, as a whole, may be said to constitute a large "specific community." The article briefly examines some cases of a lesser scale: the "specific communities" between literatures in Hindi and Urdu, between the three literatures of Eastern India (Bengali, Oriya and Assamese). The "specific community" between the modern Bengali literature of India and that of Bangladesh is quite a special case.

In conclusion the article suggest that the concept of "specific communities of literatures," fruitful as it is, requires for its further development an interdisciplinary approach.

#### PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

S.V. YASTRZHEMSKIY

Examining the long-running national-liberation struggle of one-time Portuguese colonies, the article notes that this long-running struggle enjoyed the internationalist support of progressive forces of the world, in the first place, the USSR and the other socialist states, the international communist and working class movement.

The working class and democratic movement of Portugal headed by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) also made an important contribution to exposing the essence of the African policy of the fascist regime and the struggle to put an end to the colonial war. The article analyses in retrospect the PCP's stand on the colonial question and elucidates its role in terminating the colonial war and its contribution to the process of decolonisation.

The discussion of these problems, insufficiently studied in the Soviet scientific literature, is of importance with respect to a comprehensive study of the correlation of national and international factors in the revolutionary process in newly-liberated African states. It also fosters a better understanding of the part played by communist and working-class parties in liberating the people of the former colonial periphery of imperialism.

JALAL AL-DIN AL-SUYUTI. AL-ITQAN FI'ULUM AL-QUR'AN. A CHAPTER DEALING WITH I'JAZ

(THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (1445-1505) is the last illustrious representative of the classical period of Arab culture. His works touching on all aspects of Arab and Moslem science and literature exceed 500 titles. Over four centuries they have been deservedly regarded as the most authoritative interpretation of the tradition which they embodied in many respects. The introduction briefly analyses the works of Suyuti paying attention to his attitude to fiqh and the



science of hadith. The latter were to Suyuti the center of the system of knowledge, a paragon of a perfect structure and a method often serving him as a paradigm for the restructuring of other branches of knowledge.

The purpose of the "al-Itqan," one of the major works of Suyuti, is to summarise what has been written on the 'ulum al-Qur'an and to shape it as a branch of science similar to the science of hadith. The introduction demonstrates that 'ulum al-Qur'an, as understood in "al-Itqan," is essentially a complex of philological disciplines which are to preserve, interpret and study the text of the Revelation. It is emphasised that the importance of the science of Qur'an is often underestimated in the study of Arab philology and literature. Today, it is becoming more and more evident that ignoring traditional 'ulum al-Qur'an it is difficult, if at all possible, to judge adequately the evolution and structure of the Arab philological tradition.

Chapter 64, an excerpt of which is translated here, deals with i'jaz al-Qur'an and provides an insight into the history and subject-matter of this teaching. Having originated in the tenth and eleventh centuries within the framework of Moslem theology, it became a key point in the history of Arab philology. This teaching was the first to provide the Arab literature with a common basis to draw a comparison between poetry and prose within the framework of the theory of style. Together with grammar and 'ilm al-badi it gave an impetus to the emergence of Arab rhetoric, 'ilm mal-balagha. The notion regarding the structure and types of statements elaborated within the framework of i'jaz and in the later period of 'ilm mal-balagha, the gist of which had been formulated as early as the eleventh century by 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani, had a great impact on the evolution of the theory of syntax of the traditional Arab grammar.

Translation from the Arabic, Introduction and Commentary by D.V. Frolov

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## AID STRATEGY OF USSR-SOCIALIST-ORIENTED STATES OUTLINED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 3-12

[Article by Ye.G. Ishhenko: "Collaboration of the USSR and the Formational Development of the Socialist-Oriented Countries"]

[Text] The foreign economic strategy and tactics of the Soviet state, differing radically from all earlier known approaches to problems of mutual economic relations with foreign countries, began to take shape in the first years following victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution. October opened the doors for the world for fundamentally new relations between groups of countries with social structures at varying levels of social and economic development. The principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, mutual advantage and internationalist support of less developed countries entering into the struggle for independence were elevated to the level of state foreign policy of the Soviet Union from the very beginning of its existence.

An important place in the strategy of the young Soviet state was allotted to peoples proceeding toward socialism. "It is essential to be concerned with the expansion of economic collaboration and political ties with other peoples," as V.I. Lenin formulated the tasks of foreign policy in the economic section of the party program at the 8th RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Congress, "striving at once toward the establishment of a unified economic plan with those of them that have already converted to the Soviet structure."<sup>1</sup> The Soviet Union has adhered steadfastly to this foreign-policy course over all 70 years of its development.

The Decree on the Fundamental Areas of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period to the Year 2000, approved by the 27th CPSU Congress, envisages rendering assistance to the liberated countries "in the construction of industrial and power facilities, the development of transport, the mechanization of agriculture and the irrigation of land, exploration for reserves of mineral raw materials and fuels, the training of national personnel and in other spheres," facilitating "the inclusion of natural wealth in production and an increase in commodity resources in these countries, along with the formation and development of their national economies and their advance along the path of independence and progress."<sup>2</sup> It is proposed therein to devote much attention to the socialist-oriented countries.

Having chosen the socialist development path, the liberated states display a natural aspiration for the expansion of multilateral collaboration and reinforcement of the friendship with countries that are the bearers of experience in that model of development they have chosen. The industrial relations that have taken shape in these countries cannot at once acquire permanent forms. They are plastic and subject to the influence of the superstructure, associated to a great extent with traditions, specific national features and the conditions historically preceding this stage of development. The economic basis in these countries be developed completely apart from the state of foreign economic ties, which continue to play a role in their economic construction. It is natural that this basis take in elements characteristic of both socialism and capitalism, which proceed along channels of trade and economic relations. Changes occur slowly in it.

The economic beachhead won earlier by Western capitalism is being squeezed by the reforms implemented in these countries, but is extremely unwilling to retreat from its positions. The assistance of the socialist countries finds favorable internal conditions, but a certain amount of time is required for the economic interaction of the socialist countries and the socialist-oriented countries to become stable and long-term.

A particular type of relations has taken shape in the practice of economic ties of the USSR with this group of countries, at the basis of which lies a unity of purpose and a commonality of approaches to the problems of socio-economic development on a national level and to world political and economic processes.

"The party attaches great significance," notes the new edition of the CPSU Program, "to solidarity and political and economic collaboration with the socialist-oriented countries. Every people, chiefly through its own efforts, creates the material and technical base essential for the construction of a new society and strives for an increase in the welfare and culture of the masses. The Soviet Union, to the extent of its capabilities, has and will render assistance to the peoples proceeding along this path in economic and cultural construction, the training of national personnel, the raising of defense capability and other spheres."<sup>3</sup>

The economic assistance of the USSR to these countries, as for all developing countries, is aimed first and foremost at the construction of industrial facilities, the development of transport, the mechanization of agriculture and the irrigation of land, the carrying out of exploration and the training of national personnel, which are called upon to facilitate a reinforcement of their economic and political independence. At the same time, from the point of view of the nature and substance of collaboration, its dynamics and especially its prospects, the situation of this group differs from the other developing countries. The preconditions of this distinction are implicit in the very nature of socialist orientation. They exist in the realm of trade and economic relations as the manifestation of specific features of the international intercourse of victorious socialism and socialist orientation in the broad sense of the term.



It is well known that the tasks of surmounting many centuries of backwardness, the ascent of national productive forces and the elimination of dependence on monopoly capital are being resolved by all of the liberated countries. In the socialist-oriented countries, however, objective conditions are being created for the resolution of these tasks democratically in the interests of the majority of the population on a planning basis, and the preconditions are taking shape for a real acceleration of their advance along the progressive path chosen. The countries adhering to this direction of development are not limited just to quantitative growth in economic potential, but are also undertaking efforts to accomplish a radical restructuring of the social forms of economic operation, eliminate conditions for the restoration of relations of dependence, raise up the economic base under the socio-political superstructure that has, as a rule, outstripped it, and improve and develop the superstructure itself. The economics of the indicated group of countries are thus most receptive, compared to the other liberated countries, to socialist methods of economic operation and, consequently, most open to the development of relations with the socialist countries.

The economic collaboration of the USSR and the other socialist countries not only facilitates the development of productive forces, but also has an effect at the same time on the formation of a new type of social relations.

The principles of economic relations among states being realized by the USSR in the international arena based on the full equality of partner countries, non-interference in each other affairs, mutual respect and mutual advantage, which is especially important for young states defending their national interests in a difficult international climate, most fully meet the aspirations of the peoples that have chosen the path of conducting pre-socialist transformations. These principles are confidently laying down the road in the complex labyrinth of international relations, which are today suffering the negative effects of the policies of the Western powers.

The Soviet Union had trade and economic ties with 103 developing countries in 1984.<sup>4</sup> International agreements on economic and technical collaboration had been concluded with 84 countries by the beginning of 1987, among which almost twenty were socialist-oriented countries. More than 2,100 different projects had been implemented (the construction of industrial enterprises, agricultural, transport and other facilities, exploratory operations, the creation of facilities and the rendering of services in the realm of education and health care etc.) by the middle of the 1980s in the collaboration of the USSR with developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, including some 650 projects that were realized in the countries with a progressive direction of development.<sup>5</sup> Circumstances exist for the implementation of over 420 projects in the non-capitalist oriented countries, the predominant portion of which are in the stage of realization. The share of these countries in the overall amount of collaboration of the USSR with the liberated countries in the economic sphere has grown. Whereas at the end of the 1970s, according to prevailing estimates, this share comprised less than 1/5, in the middle of the 1980s it approximated 1/3 and is continuing to grow. This process is developing especially rapidly on the African continent, where more than 60 percent of the volume of trade and economic collaboration of the USSR with this continent falls to the share of the socialist-oriented countries.<sup>6</sup>



Trade and economic collaboration with these countries permits the Soviet Union to make fuller use of the advantages of the international division of labor in the interests of developing its own national economy, and allows the partner-countries to ensure their sovereignty over national resources, raise their adaptivity to the conditions of the rapidly developing scientific and technical revolution, accelerate the incorporation of its latest achievements and successfully resolve the task of raising national production in accordance with the goals of pre-socialist transformations in the interest of all of society.

Economic collaboration with the Soviet Union gives the developing countries of socialist orientation the opportunity of solving in comprehensive and long-term fashion the major economic problems in the chief areas of their economic and social policy: achieving the elimination of economic disproportions--the legacy of the colonial past, raising the standard of living of broad segments of the workers through an increase in production and the organization of more efficient and fair distribution, resolving current, as well as prospective, tasks of social development and learning to manage the economy under conditions of a non-capitalist development path. This economic interaction is objectively linked with the policy of "eliminating the sway of imperialist monopolies, tribal aristocracies, feudal and reactionary bourgeoisie and reinforcing the state sector in economics, encouraging the cooperative movement in the village and raising the role of the working masses in economic and political life"<sup>7</sup> that is being conducted in these countries.

\* \* \*

The conditions for the exit of the socialist-oriented countries from the system of the world capitalist economy are ripening slowly. This is explained by a number of reasons, among which should be noted first and foremost the strength of the threads binding the economies of the liberated countries with the former mother countries and the measures being undertaken by imperialism to preserve its tottering positions, the paucity of sources of accumulation in the socialist-oriented countries and the limited readiness of the socialist community at this stage to take on completely the elimination of the financial and material shortages in the economies of these countries.

As an alternative to the Western model of dependent development and "financial colonialism," the Soviet Union, as noted in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, is advancing a strategy of balanced economic assistance for the liberated countries in accordance with which aid is envisaged in their economic and cultural construction that supplements the efforts of these countries to create a national economy principally through their own efforts.

Resolving specific tasks, the economic assistance of the USSR at a certain stage begins to facilitate the more active mobilization of internal resources for the purpose of economic construction. This function of collaboration has most important significance for the socialist-oriented countries, not receptive in essence to the concept of development through the primarily external growth factors that lie at the foundation of mutual trade and economic relations with the West of a number of capitalist-oriented countries

and aimed in reality at the preservation of relations of dependence and the transformation of these countries into a solid reserve of the capitalist periphery.

The stimulating effect of Soviet economic assistance on the development of the internally mobilized capabilities of the countries that are implementing progressive socio-economic transformations is determined by the sector thrust of the collaboration, as well as by the nature of the forms in which it is realized. Insofar as these preconditions have most important significance for understanding the essence of the economic interaction of the USSR and the socialist-oriented countries, it seems expedient to consider them in more detail.

The sector structure of economic assistance is formed, as a rule, on the basis of a regard for the requirements of the socialist-oriented countries and their requests addressed to the government of the USSR. An indispensable feature of economic relations, manifested as early as at the stage of concluding intergovernmental agreements, is the organic link of the sector thrust of collaboration with national plans and programs of socio-economic development.

Over 70 percent of the obligations of the USSR in rendering economic assistance to the developing countries of socialist orientation falls to industry: power engineering, metallurgy, machine building, petroleum extraction and refining, the production of minerals, the construction industry and other sectors that depend to the greatest extent on the continuation of the economic process and promote this continuation. The substance of economic and technical collaboration in these capital-intensive sectors is subordinate to the task of the expedient and maximum possible involvement of local resources in their development.

The discussion concerns not only the mobilization of labor resources and monetary means for covering internal expenditures and finding on the local market the materials essential for the collaborative facilities, but also includes all existing, and in a number of cases unutilized, types of production at full capacity. Thus, in planning the tractor-assembly enterprise in Nazret (Ethiopia), Soviet organizations considered variants for the gradual inclusion of capacity already existing in that region. After the operational start-up of the facility in September of 1984, the assembly of tractors was accomplished with constituent parts supplied from the USSR. To the extent that local enterprises are modernized, however (the production of springs, tires, bodies, fasteners and some other parts), they will gradually be included in the outfitting of the tractors. An important place is also allotted to agriculture, which ensures the resolution of both the raw-material (for the needs of industry) and the food problems and the development of the infrastructure.

In the sphere of agriculture and the food industry, Soviet organizations are rendering assistance in the assimilation of lands and the execution of irrigation operations, the development of agricultural equipment bases, the construction of siloes, coolers, enterprises for the processing of agricultural output and the training of national personnel. The share of agriculture in the overall volume of assistance rendered to the countries of

this group in the 12th Five-Year Plan, which currently totals less than 10 percent, will practically double.

One distinguishing feature can be traced clearly in the approaches to a sector structure of collaboration: development in the economic and technical assistance of Soviet organizations of specific sectors entails the development of allied industries of the economy--the construction of the corresponding facilities, the development of the infrastructure around the facilities, the raw-material base etc., accomplished, as a rule, by the manpower of local organizations and basically through their own internal resources. The introduction of enterprises and facilities herein not only acts similar to a chain reaction inciting the creation of new facilities, but also expands opportunities for accumulation and the financing of development projects, insofar as practically all facilities move into profitable modes of operation. This is also assisted by the circumstance that the selection of specific directions for collaboration with the countries, as a rule, is accomplished on the basis of the comprehensive study by the Soviet side of structural problems of development, the disposition of productive forces and trends and prospects arising from national plans and programs of economic construction.

A characteristic feature of collaboration is also a careful analysis of trends and opportunities in the development of specific sectors where the establishment or expansion of collaboration or the development of technical and economic substantiation for the expediency of a choice of facility is projected. Questions of the paramount needs of the economy of the partner herein are linked with his real capabilities for ensuring the essential financial, material and labor support for the facility chosen. This approach leads, as a rule, to the adoption of seemingly "enhanced" circumstances by the organizations of the client country, real but in need of definite organizational and resource tightening.

The Soviet Union has rendered assistance in the formation of national geological services in Algeria. As a result of the successful realization of Soviet-Algerian collaboration in the realm of geology, rich deposits of iron ore, complex ores, mercury, tin and other minerals were surveyed. On the basis of the deposits surveyed, the Ismail mining enterprise and the lead-zinc enrichment factory in El-Abed which supplies the zinc plant in Ghazaouet with raw material were created. A whole complex for the extraction of ores and their enrichment and the production of precious metals was in essence created. Soviet organizations were not only the suppliers of modern equipment and the executors of the most crucial and technically complex tasks in the creation of this complex, but also indirectly assisted in the resolution of issues by the Algerians for the broader inclusion of local resources in active economic life. An additional opportunity appeared for financing development projects through the profits obtained from the export and sale on local markets of mercury, zinc and other non-ferrous metals.

An animation of the forces of self-development was implicit in the very form of economic and technical collaboration of the USSR with the socialist-oriented liberated countries. As is well known, over 3/4 of all of the collaboration is being implemented in the form of technical assistance.<sup>8</sup> Typical of technical assistance is the implementation of administrative and



economic leadership in the construction of the facility by the client country and, consequently, the responsibility of the partner for the organization of operations, facility operational turnover times and the supply of the facility with resources. This form of collaboration makes it possible for the socialist-oriented countries, as well as other developing countries, to resolve in practice the tasks of the maximum utilization of internal markets and the organization of import substitution for not only isolated commodities but for integrated equipment and the fulfillment of operations.

It should be noted that this form is most adapted for the transfer of experience in industrial and other construction to a country less developed in a technical sense and for the organization of personnel in the client country. Local resources are utilized here to the maximum extent and national construction organizations are created that are able to carry out many complex types of work on analogous facilities independently in the future. Collaboration with the USSR in the construction of major facilities under conditions of technical assistance has enriched the economic subdivisions of the socialist-oriented countries with experience in planning and organizing the construction of industrial facilities and has facilitated the development of a national construction industry in these countries.

The realization of tasks in the realm of economic collaboration with the socialist-oriented countries requires the application of the most efficient and promising forms, types and methods of collaboration that are suitable for modern processes in world economic ties.

One type of economic and technical collaboration of this group of countries that has become widespread in recent years is collaboration on a compensated basis. This type of collaboration acquires great significance in relations with the socialist-oriented countries of sub-Saharan Africa, where the problem of expanding the production of the competitiveness of the body of export products is most acute. Compensated collaboration provides additional (compared to conventional forms of collaboration) receipts of financial resources and modern technology for the socialist-oriented countries along with a stable market for products produced at compensated facilities and growth in export potential and diversification of the export base, as well as eases calculations for the assistance rendered. This type of collaboration is directed toward resolving structural tasks of national development and ensuring sovereignty over national natural resources.

The creation of compensated facilities assumes the closer interaction of the USSR and the socialist-oriented countries in the realm of economics and, consequently, will meet the needs of advancing the latter along the progressive path of socio-economic development to a greater extent. Tasks of the mutual supplementation of the economies of the partner countries and the creation of preconditions for gradual integration into the world socialist economic system are resolved in this area. Compensated facilities oriented toward export to the USSR and other socialist countries are more receptive to socialist methods of economic operation than conventional facilities of collaboration by virtue of the fact that deeper ties with the planned socialist economy are established herein.

The Soviet Union is supplied with gas from Afghanistan and oil from Syria, and deliveries of raw materials essential to the national economy of the USSR from several other socialist-oriented countries are made, under conditions of compensation. The repair and maintenance of Soviet fishing vessels at the shipyard complex in Maputo, built and turned over for operation in 1982 in accordance with Soviet-Mozambique agreements on economic and technical collaboration, is carried out under compensation procedure for the expenditures of Soviet organizations. Compensation agreements for the development of the coking-coal deposits of the Moatiz, the reconstruction enterprises for the production of tantalum concentrate from the Morrua deposit and the comprehensive development of cotton farming in the province of Nampula have been concluded with Mozambique. Agreement has been reached with Ethiopia on the development of collaboration on a compensated basis in the production of tea, the processing of oilseeds and the creation of a farm for the feeding of livestock in the Jijigi region. Favorable prospects are being opened up for the development of compensated collaboration in economic relations with Kampuchea, Angola, Madagascar, Zimbabwe and Nicaragua.

The specific form of economic and technical collaboration called expanded technical assistance, which envisages the broader utilization of Soviet specialists and material resources supplied from the USSR in the construction of facilities, has lately come into practice in the relations of a number of socialist-oriented countries that currently do not have national construction organizations at their disposal and do not have adequate experience in industrial construction, especially in cases where the construction of the facility in a short time is required. Expanded technical assistance in the construction of the 125,000-kW [kilowatt] Aden TES [thermo-electric power plant] with a 42,000-ton-a-day desalinization complex in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen envisages, for example, additional aid in the construction of a residential settlement for Soviet and Yemeni specialists, the creation of a specialized national organization, the outfitting of a quarry with equipment and transport and the development of other infrastructure in the construction area, as well as the rendering of engineering and consulting services to Yemeni organizations. Expanded assistance is being rendered to Ethiopia in the construction of the Melka Bakana GES [hydroelectric power plant], which will permit an increase of one and a half times in power capacity in the country, which is suffering from an acute shortage of electric power, and is being rendered to several other countries as well.

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Under the influence of economic collaboration with the socialist countries, the necessary conditions are being created so that directly socialist industrial relations, laying the road first in individual sectors, gradually occupy the predominant position.

One most important element of system-forming significance are the measures being implemented by the governments of the socialist-oriented countries for shifting the economy onto the rails of centralized planning. The USSR is assisting these countries in creating planning organs, developing current plans and long-term programs of economic and social development and organizing

the monitoring of the course of realization of the plans being developed. The socialist-oriented countries, as Soviet researchers have noted, objectively have considerable opportunities at their disposal for the transition from programs of a recommended nature toward scientifically based planning implemented with a regard for national labor and natural resources.

The USSR has concluded special agreements on collaboration in the realm of planning with Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Ethiopia. Standing commissions on collaboration have been created with a number of countries in the realm of planning, as have planning working groups in the complement of the Intergovernmental Commissions on Economic, Scientific and Technical Collaboration and Trade, and long-term programs of economic collaboration have been developed. The Soviet-Ethiopian long-term program signed in September of 1984 in Addis-Ababa, for example, defines promising directions for collaboration in the realm of agriculture and irrigation, industry, power engineering, geology and mining and the training of national personnel, as well as ways of further developing mutual trade. The objectives and topics that are subject to realization or additional study are singled out.

The state and cooperative sector of the economy is the conduit of industrial relations of a new type. Success in the cause of reinforcing the state sector depends on many causes and conditions: the correlation of class forces in the country, the nature of the political administration, the starting level of development of the economy and the position in international relations, including the degree of development of economic ties with socialist countries. The picture here is quite variegated. The potential opportunities for developing the state sector in Afghanistan and Angola are not being utilized to the fullest at all due to the actions of internal and external reaction. The public (state and "self-managed") sector occupies a solid position in Algeria. The state sector herein currently provides over 80 percent of industrial production and about 20 percent of agricultural production. The state practically completely controls foreign trade, transport, the oil, gas and mining industries, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, electric-power engineering and a considerable portion of the machining industry. The financial accumulations created in the oil and gas, mining and some other sectors are used for the development of the state sector overall.

A considerable portion of the socialist-oriented countries, including Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Syria and Ethiopia, are today approaching the stage of economic construction where the resolution of the urgent tasks of the transitional period (raising the efficiency of the state sector, ensuring growth in labor productivity and cooperative economies, accelerating the incorporation of centralized planning, reducing the degree of dependence on monopoly capital and the like) requires not simply foreign assistance, but a further expansion and deepening of economic relations with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

The economic interaction of the USSR also plays the role herein of a factor of a new type that facilitates the incorporation of certain socialist forms and methods of leading the economy and restructuring the system of industrial relations. Insofar as an interconnection exists of collaboration with the



establishment of social relations, it is possible to speak of the system-forming role of foreign economic ties with the Soviet Union, although chief in this process are the general laws and trends of internal social development of the liberated countries.

An indicator of the role of economic collaboration with the USSR in reinforcing progressive socio-economic shifts in the socialist-oriented countries is the degree of inclusion of the latter in the orbit of the international socialist division of labor.

It is quite obvious that the historically short time interval for the development of the liberated countries along the non-capitalist path has still provided little information for drawing conclusions on the depth of the process of economic convergence of the socialist-oriented countries with the world socialist economy and the weakening of their economic dependence on the West. At the same time, a consideration of this issue from the point of view of the trends noted and the preconditions makes it possible to give a balanced evaluation of the prospective aspects of the role that the world socialist economy, on the one hand, and the world capitalist economy, on the other, play in the economic and social development of the socialist-oriented countries.

The threads binding these countries with the world capitalist economy are broken with difficulty, but nonetheless a reduction, albeit a slow one, in the share of the West in the real volumes of capital construction is discerned herein. This trend is manifested not only in the increase in the number of countries that have recently entered onto the progressive path, but also in the reduction in the share of the leading capitalist countries in the foreign debt and loans and--more importantly--in the overall quantity of actual economic facilities built and being built in individual socialist-oriented countries. A process of economic convergence of the countries of socialism and socialist orientation is developing in parallel with this process, and the mutual resource replenishment of the partners is increasing.

In recent years the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA] has made important decisions aimed at creating favorable conditions for the development of economic collaboration with a number of countries adhering to a progressive orientation. Standing working groups of the CEMA Ispolkom have been created to coordinate aid issues with Angola, Kampuchea and Ethiopia. A number of developing countries, including Angola, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Nicaragua and Ethiopia have obtained observer status in CEMA. The obligations of coordinator for issues of possible collaboration in specific areas of economics by individual developing countries were distributed among the individual CEMA member countries at 87 session of the CEMA Ispolkom. In accordance with this resolution the USSR, for example, is building its own relations in the realm of economics with Ethiopia not only on the basis of the bilateral agreements that have been concluded, but also as the coordinator of multilateral collaboration in the development of its oil-refining industry, machine building, geologic exploration and the mining industry.

Some of the socialist-oriented countries that are executing most consistently a policy of deepening progressive socio-economic transformations are gradually

acquiring features of a real reserve of socialism in the former colonial world, and the period of advance along the path of socialist orientation itself is becoming a palpable transitional stage on the path of creating the preconditions for the building of socialist society.

It should be noted that this process is currently developing in an extremely complex and acute international climate. The oppression of tensions and militaristic psychoses by aggressive imperialist circles headed by the U.S. administration, the policy of neoglobalism, the pretensions to world domination and the opposition to progress at any point on the globe and the politization of the foreign economic sphere associated with it are accompanied by efforts to unleash a constant economic war against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, interfere in the internal affairs of those countries that do not want to follow in the wake of imperialist policies and complicate their socio-economic development. These actions pursue the aim in particular of accomplishing economic destabilization in the socialist-oriented countries, slowing the progress of progressive transformations in them and where possible turning back the development of these countries.

In the currently extant situation of confrontation of the two opposing social systems, where capitalism is still economically strong and extremely aggressive, the problem of shortening the path toward socialism for the liberated countries and "accelerating to an extreme their former course of development"<sup>9</sup> cannot be considered synonymous. The steady resistance of imperialism and the diversion of the resources of socialist countries in connection with the need to maintain defensive capabilities at an essential level along with the enormous difficulties of an internal nature existing in the liberated countries are introducing corrections into the process of their development, not providing for such rates of transformation of social relations of pre-capitalist and early-capitalist type into socialist social relations and that development of productive forces that could be achieved in the event of a surmounting of the capitalist economy in the majority of the developed countries.

Contemporary imperialist policies are a substantive obstacle on the path of the further development of economic relations of the Soviet Union with foreign countries and have a negative influence on the conditions for realizing intergovernmental agreements already concluded, the complete fulfillment of which is an unshakable principle of Soviet foreign economic strategy. The discriminatory policies of the West worsen the foreign political, and frequently the internal, conditions for carrying out progressive socio-economic transformations in the socialist-oriented countries, as well as the opportunity for developing economic ties with the countries of the socialist community associated with it.

The actions of the forces of internal reaction in Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique and Ethiopia with the support of U.S. imperialism are substantially slowing the development of the state sector in industry and especially in agriculture, narrowing the socio-economic base of collaboration with the socialist countries. Conditions for the normal functioning of economic institutions practically cannot be ensured on certain portions of the

territory of these socialist-oriented countries. Collaboration with the USSR and the other socialist countries will weaken the slowing influence of imperialist policies on the development of progressive socio-economic trends in the liberated countries that are proceeding along the path of socialist orientation they have chosen.

The definite successes that were achieved in the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s in the cause of economic and technical collaboration with the liberated countries of socialist orientation are creating the preconditions for the further development of collaboration and diversification in its forms and directions in accordance with the tasks posed in the sphere of foreign economic ties by the 27th CPSU Congress. The implementation of the 12th Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR will be an important stage in the further development of economic relations. In this period the Soviet Union will render effective aid in realizing the efforts of the countries of this group in creating the material and technical base of a new society and raising the welfare and cultural level of the popular masses. The proportion of the socialist-oriented countries in the overall volume of economic and technical assistance of the USSR to developing countries will exceed, according to prevailing estimates, 40 percent. The largest partners of the USSR in this group of countries in the export volume of complete equipment and services in the years 1986-1990 will be Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Syria and Ethiopia.

The policy of expanding intensive methods of economic development of the USSR and the concentration of efforts in the chief areas of the Soviet national economy that provide for the rapid renewal of fixed productive capacity requires the rational utilization of labor, financial and material resources. The realization of the tasks posed by the 27th CPSU Congress in the realm of expanding and reinforcing foreign political ties with the socialist-oriented countries assumes the widespread utilization of more efficient forms and methods of collaboration, including new ones, that are suitable for the foreign economic policy defined by the party. On the one hand, the realization of the strategy of acceleration will considerably expand the opportunities of Soviet organizations in the cause of intensifying economic ties with the countries of non-capitalist development. The rational utilization of the growing export potential of the USSR with the simultaneous improvement of its qualitative features and the achievement of good ultimate results in the construction of industrial, agricultural and other facilities in these countries are especially important in the contemporary stage, when issues of economic construction occupy a more and more important place in their social development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol 38, p 434.
2. Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. Moscow, 1986, p 328.
3. Ibid., pp 174-175.
4. VNESHNAYA TORGOVLYA. 1986, No 1, p 8.

5. Here are taken into account facilities built with the economic assistance of the USSR in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Mali and Ghana in the period when these countries adhered to a socialist orientation.
6. Africa: Progress, Difficulties, Prospects. Moscow, 1981, p 103.
7. Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, p 136.
8. Economic and Technical Collaboration with Foreign Countries. Moscow, 1983, p 73.
9. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, vol 4, p 334.

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## PORTUGUESE CP'S ROLE IN LIBERATING FORMER COLONIES ASSESSED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 68-75

[Article by S.V. Yastrzhembskiy: "The Portuguese Communist Party and the National Liberation Movement in the Portuguese Colonies"]

[Text] The many years of national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and other former Portuguese colonies is based, as is well known, on the internationalist assistance of the progressive forces of peace, and first of all the USSR and the countries of the socialist community and the international communist and workers' movement.

The working class and the democratic movement of Portugal, headed by the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], has also made an important contribution to unmasking the anti-nationalist essence of the "African policy" of the fascist regime of Salazar and to the struggle for a cessation of colonial warfare. The fall of the last colonial empire of the world was not only a historic conquest for liberated peoples, but also a major political success for anti-colonial forces in the former mother country, and first and foremost the PCP.

The article undertakes an effort to give a retrospective analysis of PCP positions on the colonial issue, to reveal the role and place of the Communist Party in the struggle for an end to colonial warfare in Africa and to show the contribution of the Portuguese communists to the process of decolonization. A consideration of these issues, little illuminated in Soviet scholarly literature, seems important both from the point of view of the comprehensive study of the problem of correlating national and international factors of the revolutionary process in young African states at the stage of the struggle of their peoples against colonialism and for national liberation, and for an interpretation of the role played by the communist and workers' parties of capitalist Europe (in this case, the PCP) in the liberation of the peoples of the former colonial periphery of imperialism.

The colonial war has been at the center of Portuguese political life since the beginning of the 1960s.<sup>1</sup> It has caused a deep demarcation in the ranks of the anti-fascist opposition. Since the moment of its creation in March of 1921, the PCP has without fail taken class and internationalist positions on the issue of defending the rights of the peoples under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. The Program of the Government of the Workers and Peasants

adopted at the first PCP Congress (November of 1923) advanced the demand for the "liberation of the colonies under the rule of Portugal."<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, the Communist Party was unable to organize any sort of movement in support of the rights of the colonial peoples. This was explained first and foremost by its organizational and ideological weakness. The reactionary military coup that followed in May of 1926, opening the way for Portugal to become fascist, limited the opportunities of the communists to the extreme. But even during the first and most difficult years of underground activity for the PCP, the communists tried to make use of every opportunity for displaying solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Speaking at the 7th Comintern Congress (1935), PCP General Secretary B. Golsalves declared that the party should devote constant attention "to protecting the interests of the colonial peoples oppressed by Portuguese imperialism and render them assistance in the struggle for complete liberation."<sup>3</sup>

At the 3rd Congress, held in November of 1943, the Communist Party pointed out the "possibility of rapid development" of the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies and called upon communists to support the formation of liberation movements and recognize the right of colonial peoples to form independent states.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the recognition of this right was accompanied by a caveat--the communists assumed it was very unlikely that the peoples of the Portuguese colonies would be able to provide for their own independence independently under existing international conditions.<sup>5</sup> It was then felt within the PCP that the liberation of the colonies would occur only as a result of changes in the state structure in Portugal itself. There was also a fear that the colonies liberated from the Portuguese yoke would fall under the sway of another more powerful imperialist power.<sup>6</sup>

In bringing to life the resolutions of the 3rd Congress, the PCP applied much effort to create communist cells in the colonies and to form local communist cadres. This led to growth in democratic sentiment among the white population of the colonies and facilitated the organization of several protest movements, including the major workers' strike at the Mozambique port of Lorenzo Markis in 1949. As was later noted in PCP documents, however, "by virtue of various reasons this party initiative did not receive... the needed support and development."<sup>7</sup>

The PCP later continued to assist national-liberation movements to the utmost, which earned the deep gratitude of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The Portuguese Communist Party, as was noted in this regard at the 1st MPLA [Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola] Congress (1977), "greatly facilitated the tempering of the fighters of the former Portuguese colonies. The energy and heroism of the Portuguese communists and their purposefulness inspired and imparted confidence to all who fought for freedom in the colony."<sup>8</sup>

A deep analysis of the situation in the colonies was given at the 5th PCP Congress held in 1957. It uncovered the complete bankruptcy of the colonial doctrine of Salazar, according to which the "historical predestination" of Portugal supposedly consisted of its "civilizing mission on three continents." The communists unmasked the myth created by Salazar's propaganda of the "moral and political unity" of the peoples of the mother country and its colonies.



These peoples, it was noted at the congress, had not a similar trait among them that would permit discussion of them as a unified nation. They have no territorial, spiritual, cultural, historical etc. commonality among them. The congress asserted that all of the essential preconditions had ripened in the Portuguese colonies for the successful development of the liberation struggle. In the Declaration on the Issue of the Portuguese Colonies that was adopted at the congress, it was emphasized that the way out of a struggle for the freedom of the colonies did not depend on changes in the political regime in Portugal itself. The party therefore advanced the demand for the "unconditional recognition of the right of the peoples of the African colonies belonging to Portugal to their immediate and complete independence."<sup>9</sup>

The Declaration emphasized that solidarity with the colonial peoples is not only the international, but the national task of communists and all the anti-fascists of Portugal. "The cause of the colonial peoples," it was said in the document, "is our own cause."<sup>10</sup>

The dramatic development of events in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique at the end of the 1950s, the creation of the national-liberation movements of the MPLA and PAIGK [African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands] in 1956, the police repressions and legal proceedings against the patriots in Luanda (1959) and the execution of striking dock workers in Mueda in Mozambique (1960) foreshadowed the powerful explosion of discontent of the oppressed peoples and the ascent of the struggle for the independence of the Portuguese colonies. The Salazar government answered with a strengthening of repressions and sent special contingents of troops prepared for waging anti-partisan actions to the "overseas territories" (the word "colony" has been missing from the lexicon of Salazar propaganda since 1951--S.Ya.).

The Communist Party was the first political force in the country that raised a voice of protest against the military adventures of the fascist regime in Africa. On 4 Feb 61--the day of the uprising in Luanda--the PCP declared its complete solidarity with the national-liberation struggle of the Angolan patriots.

After 1961 up to the anti-fascist revolution of 25 Apr 74, practically every document of the leading organs of the PCP touched in this or that manner on the colonial problem. The war touched on all spheres of life of Portuguese society, became the central political issue in Portugal and led the country, as the communists had warned, to the brink of catastrophe. The colonial war, consuming 40 percent of the state budget each year, was an unbearable burden for economically poorly developed Portugal; it required colossal funding (from 1961 to 1973 the total amount of military spending was 133 million escudos)<sup>11</sup> and evoked a strengthening of the exploitation of the workers and made the inflationary processes more acute. Losses in the Portuguese colonial army (over the 13 years over 60,000 men were killed or wounded)<sup>12</sup> testified especially convincingly to the anti-popular nature of this war.

In 1961-1974 the documents of the PCP, the materials of the party press and the speeches of Communist Party leaders gave a profound analysis of the complex of problems associated with the colonial war. Having considered the

mechanism of the mutual relations of Portugal with the major capitalist states, the Communist Party came to the conclusion that Portugal would be able to rule over the colonies, as paradoxical as it was, only by virtue of its inherent dependence on foreign imperialism,<sup>13</sup> with an extreme vested interest in the preservation of the Portuguese colonies, whose exploitation brought stupendous profits to them. The continuation of the war in Africa and the retention of the colonies, the PCP warned, would strengthen even more the imperialist sway over Portugal and inflict serious harm to its independence and national sovereignty.<sup>14</sup>

The 6th PCP Congress (1965), at which its new program was adopted, devoted exceptionally great attention to the colonial problem. Proceeding from the specific nature of the historical and socio-economic development of Portugal, the Communist Party defined the impending stage of the revolution as national and democratic. One of the chief goals of revolution, it was stressed in the program, is "to recognize and ensure for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies the right to immediate independence."<sup>15</sup> The Communist Party drew the conclusion that the "struggle for genuine independence of Portugal is indissolubly linked with the struggle for the independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies... A democratic institution in Portugal and genuine independence of the country will be guaranteed only in the event that the rights of self-determination and immediate and complete independence are ensured for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies."<sup>16</sup>

For the fastest possible implementation of this goal, the PCP proposed undertaking a series of steps: beginning negotiations and concluding agreements with representatives of the national-liberation movements on the transfer of power to them; establishing relations of friendship and scientific, technical and cultural collaboration between Portugal and the new states on the basis of full equality and non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for mutual interests.

The selfless struggle of the communists for a just resolution to the colonial issue proceeded under exceptionally difficult conditions. The doctrine of Salazar ignored the very fact of the existence of colonies and proclaimed Portugal a "multi-racial and multi-continental nation." The regime tried to halt any manifestations of disagreement with its colonial policies and dealt harshly with all of its adversaries. The fascist repressions unfailingly came down on the communists--the consistent and confirmed opponents of colonialism. The dictatorship was nonetheless unable to hinder the struggle of the PCP for the freedom and independence of the colonial peoples. This struggle, as A. Cunhal noted, taking various forms, developed primarily in three main directions--the political activity of the opposition and resistance in the ranks of the Portuguese army and armed forces against the colonial military apparatus.<sup>17</sup> The chief goal of the Communist Party in the first direction of struggle was the creation of the broadest possible social movement of the opponents of colonialism. At meetings, assemblies and street demonstrations held by the opposition against the will of the authorities, anti-colonial slogans were advanced with the demand to abandon the shameful war. This demand was frequently sounded from the theatrical stage and was reflected in the creative work of progressive writers, poets, artists and performers. The agitation and propaganda activity of the PCP--the sole organization of the

opposition with its own illegal typesetting, press and radio station, "Free Portugal"--played an important role in the formation of the national protest movement. The central organ of the PCP--the newspaper AVANTE!--regularly informed readers of military crimes in the colonies, reported true data on the losses of the Portuguese army and related the ruinous consequences of the war. The anti-war agitation of the PCP was carried out with the aid of illegal brochures, books, leaflets and placards, printed in runs of many thousands, as well as the daily three-hour radio broadcasts of the "Free Portugal" radio station. Trying to hide the truth about the war from the people, the Salazar regime established strict monitoring of the mass media in the mother country and the colonies and closed access to the military theater for foreign journalists. And only largely thanks to the activity of the PCP in uncovering the criminal war did the truth about it come to be known to the international community.

In order to disseminate anti-colonial views, the communists also used their speeches at political trials. These speeches were transformed by the efforts of the "accused" into an effective means of criticizing the colonial policies of the regime and struggle against the chauvinistic and pseudo-patriotic sentiments that were inflamed by the official press and were current among a considerable portion of the population. The communists, as, for example, leading PCP figure O. Pato said in court in 1962, "have nothing in common with the 'patriotism' of those who get extreme profits from the colonies... and who doom the colonial peoples to perpetual backwardness and slavery. These 'patriotic' interests are alien to the Portuguese people."<sup>18</sup> The text of the speeches of PCP leaders before the fascist tribunals made their way to freedom by various means and multiplied in the form of leaflets and were reprinted in the pages of underground newspapers.

The intensive agitation and propaganda work of the PCP and its high principle on the colonial issue had material significance for the elimination of vacillation and differences of opinion (and consequently, for the creation of a unified anti-colonial front) within the anti-fascist opposition, various trends of which had for a long time expressed diametrically opposed opinions regarding on what basis and in what time period the colonial issue should be resolved. "Over the course of many years," wrote A. Cunhal on this, "the colonial issue has created real difficulties in achieving a unity of anti-fascist forces, insofar as, as opposed to the PCP, the republicans, liberals and socialists adhered to colonial or neo-colonial positions."<sup>19</sup>

The revolutionary work of the communists in the army was another important form of struggle against the colonial war and for the overthrow of the fascist government. As has already been noted, since the first hours of the war in Africa the PCP had appealed to Portuguese youth to refuse to fight in the ranks of the colonial army. This appeal struck a chord not only among the conscripts and soldiers, but among the non-commissioned and junior officers who were bearing the principal burdens of the colonial adventure as well. Over 13 years of warfare, about 100,000 Portuguese servicemen (out of a colonial army numbering a total of 160,000) deserted or refused to execute the orders of commanders, and 30 percent of the youth of the corresponding age evaded the draft. At the same time, the problem of desertion was considered by the PCP from differing points of view. As A. Cunhal noted, "the refusal of



many thousands of young people to go to war was a notable movement of resistance to the colonial war, struck a chord in the minds of the broad masses, created real difficulties and undermined discipline in the colonial army. But there was a negative side to this movement as well--a reduction in the base for conducting revolutionary work within the armed forces as a result of the departure from the ranks of the most politically conscious representatives of the youth."<sup>20</sup> The PCP, while actively supporting mass desertion, thus put before party members the task of remaining in the armed forces to carry out revolutionary work. It was emphasized in a PCP Central Committee resolution on this issue adopted in July of 1967 that the desertion of communists "is permissible only when it is forced by collective desertion or the threat of arrest for carrying out revolutionary activities hangs over the."<sup>21</sup>

The struggle against the colonial war in the armed forces took various forms--demonstrations of recruits, boycotts of the mess halls at barracks, refusal to take the oath and learn methods of anti-partisan activities, "military strikes," protests against the intensified training regimen and the absence of safety at military exercises etc.

The anti-fascist and anti-colonial propaganda carried out by the patriotic forces of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique among the Portuguese troops was a great help to the communists in their political work in the units of the colonial army. "Portuguese soldier," said FRELIMO [Portuguese-Mozambique Liberation Front] in one of their leaflets, "you are fighting against us because you have never thought about what you are doing... You are the same kind of person as us, you were not born a criminal: you were made one by those that sent you to war. The Portuguese people, your people, are honest and work-loving, a dirty war is alien to it. We know this."<sup>22</sup> The substance of this propaganda, reaching into the soul of the Portuguese people, visibly convinced the soldiers and officers of the correctness of the PCP, which declared that the Portuguese and the peoples of the colonies were united by a common goal--to end fascism and colonialism.

After 1970 the struggle against the colonial war and the pro-imperialist policies of the dictatorship came to have the form of armed actions directed against the military colonial apparatus and the NATO infrastructure located in Portugal. Thus, on 26 Oct 70 the "Armed Revolutionary Action" (ARA) organization carried out an act of sabotage as a result of which the military transport vessel "Kunene" in the Port of Lisbon was put out of commission. In March of 1971, 14 helicopters and several aircraft were destroyed at the Portuguese air-force base at Tancos. In June of that same year, the telephone links of the Portuguese capital with the outside world were cut before the opening of a session of the NATO Council in Lisbon etc. The acts carried out by the ARA showed the vulnerability of the fascist state, inflicted appreciable material harm on it, induced a psychological shock in the colonial army and in that manner made an appreciable contribution to the anti-fascist and anti-colonial struggle. The significance of these daring acts was emphasized more than once by the leaders of the national-liberation movements of the former Portuguese colonies. Thus, S. Michel welcomed the military operations of the Portuguese patriots at the beginning of the 1970s that opened, in his words, a fourth front for the struggle right in Portugal.<sup>23</sup>



The Portuguese Communist Party supported this new form of anti-colonial struggle. "The appearance of ARA, an independent organization adhering to specific methods of action," stated a PCP Central Committee document adopted in May of 1972, "is an event of great significance in the struggle against fascist dictatorship and colonial warfare."<sup>24</sup> The PCP pointed out those basic principles of the struggle without the observance of which the activity of ARA could degenerate into senseless terror. The actions of ARA, the PCP noted, should correspond to the struggle of the broad popular masses, take into account the changing political situation and proceed from a precise evaluation of the correlation of forces, and not improvisation and impatience.

The close mutual dependence of the fundamental interests, aspirations and hopes that guided the lives of the Portuguese people and the peoples of its colonial possessions was becoming more and more apparent to the extent of the expansion of the struggle against colonialism and the colonial war and the inclusion in it of new political groups and social segments of Portuguese society. Just as the struggle of the working class, the anti-fascists and the democrats of Portugal and their active solidarity with the peoples of the colonies was an effective aid to the national-liberation struggle developing in the Portuguese colonies, so were the blows inflicted on the colonial system of Salazar by the liberation forces of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola deepened the crisis of the fascist regime, bringing closer the hour of liberation of the Portuguese people.

In the course of the joint struggle, ties of collaboration and fraternity between the revolutionary organizations heading the national-liberation movement in the colonies and the Portuguese Communist Party were established and reinforced. The organization by the communists of the flight of Agostino Neto from Portugal on 6 Jul 62, for example, is among the honored pages of the fighting friendship of the revolutionaries of the former mother country and the former colonies. Leading Communist Party figures D. Lorenzo, B. Teixeira and J. Serra took part in the realization of the plan of escape that was developed by the Secretariat and the Executive Commission of the PCP.

For their part, the leaders of the MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGK also strove to develop and solidify relations of friendship and mutual solidarity with the Portuguese democrats, and first and foremost the communists, seeing in them natural and most consistent allies. In the greeting of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of Angola and chairman of the MPLA--Labor Party, on the 60th anniversary of the PCP, it was noted that the struggle of the Portuguese people under the leadership of the Communist Party against fascism was always connected with the struggle of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism. This testifies to the presence of close mutual ties between the struggle for freedom in Angola and the anti-fascist movement in Portugal.<sup>25</sup> The internationalism of the patriotic forces of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, as is justly pointed out by Soviet scholar O. Martyshin, is clearly displayed in this position, contrasting sharply with the positions of the pro-imperialist schismatic groupings that tried to impart a racist and tribal nature to the national-liberation movement.<sup>26</sup>

The documents of the PCP, the MPLA-Labor Party, PAIGK and the FRELIMO Party repeatedly mention the glorious traditions of joint struggle, as do the

speeches of leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party and state and party figures from the former Portuguese colonies.<sup>27</sup>

The political-education work carried out over the course of many years among the population by the PCP and the revolutionary forces of the colonies, deep internationalism and the joint struggle of the patriots of the mother country and the colonies did not permit the colonial oppression and the war to cross the insurmountable barrier of alienation and hatred among the peoples of Portugal and its former colonies. Furthermore, the ties of friendship and trust that joined the PCP and the national-liberation movements became, under the qualitatively new conditions created by the victory of the anti-fascist revolution of 25 Apr 74, the foundation of new mutual relations between Portugal and the young African states.

The overthrow of the fascist regime in and of itself did not bring an end to the war and the liquidation of the Portugal colonial empire. At first, the steps to decolonize were reduced to the replacement of the governors of the "overseas territories" and the declaration of an intention of the new powers to begin negotiations with representatives of the national-liberation movements. The conservative forces in the new organs of state power attempted to bring to life a policy in the spirit of "liberal-enlightened" colonialism, skillfully manipulating the circumstance that the Program of the Armed Forces Movement (AFM), becoming at first the fundamental law of the new Portugal, spoke only of the necessity of a political solution to the colonial problem and did not proclaim the right of self-determination for the colonies.<sup>28</sup> On 29 Apr 74 the future president of Portugal, General A. de Spínola, reflecting the views of the Portugal financial bourgeoisie, declared that a prolonged preparatory period was necessary to solve the colonial problem, in the course of which the peoples of the colonies would have to make a choice between the preservation of ties with Portugal within the framework of a federation or independence.

Under the new conditions created by the 1974 revolution, the PCP was not only transformed into a legally operating party, but even became a fully empowered participant in the provisional coalition government. Being represented in five of the six provisional governments of Portugal between May 1974 and July 1976, it was able to have a material influence on the formation of democratic trends in the foreign policy of the country, which was reflected in particular in the process of decolonization.

After the fall of the dictatorship, the PCP expanded the struggle for the most rapid and just resolution of the colonial question, combining a defense of the interests of the colonial peoples in the government with appeals to the masses to strengthen the movement for an immediate cease-fire in the colonies and the beginning of negotiations on peace and self-determination for the colonies. The party had an active influence on the formation of a new approach of Portugal toward the colonial problem, publicly exposing the maneuverings of the neo-colonial forces that were trying to slow the process of decolonization. Thus, speaking on 26 May 74 in Lisbon, PCP General Secretary and Minister of State of the provisional government A. Cunhal warned that any plans to substitute new forms of neo-colonialism for traditional colonialism were fraught with serious consequences for democratic Portugal.<sup>29</sup>

The consistent line of the Communist Party, coming out in conjunction with the progressive leaders of the AFM for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the beginning of the decolonization process, played a most important role in the adoption of a law recognizing the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination on 26 Jul 74. The adoption of the law was regarded by the PCP as the most major historic conquest of the Portuguese revolution and a profoundly patriotic solution with great international and national significance.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the official proclamation of independence was not removed from the agenda of the whole set of problems associated with the process of decolonization. The leftist forces, and first and foremost the communists, had to continue the fight and not permit the substitution of neo-colonial forms of independence for the young African states from Portugal in place of decolonization. Furthermore, as the Communist Party noted, decolonization was a socio-economic act as well as a political one. The problem of filling in the economic and social ties of the former mother country and the young states with new substance became acute with the granting of independence to the former colonies. It was proposed at the 7th Extraordinary Congress of the PCP in November of 1974, taking into account the limited nature of the natural and financial resources of Portugal, that relations with the new states be developed on the basis of friendship and mutual vested interest and that economic collaboration with them be expanded, lending them assistance with equipment and personnel.<sup>31</sup>

Several objective and subjective causes that hindered the normal course of decolonization and make more difficult the mutually advantageous development of relations among Portugal and the former colonies were noted at the 8th PCP Congress (November 1976), among which were contradictions in the organs of power, in which antagonistic forces were represented, pressure on Portugal on the part of imperialism, the lack of a firm policy of friendship in relation to the new states, recidivist and chauvinistic sentiments, attempts at dictatorship and others. The communists directed the attention of the people toward the close interconnection of decolonization with the Portuguese revolutionary process.<sup>32</sup> The Communist Party demanded that the government firmly carry out a policy of decolonization, come out against the pressure on the part of imperialism, withdraw all Portuguese troops from Angolan territory and recognize the MPLA government. "Proceeding from fundamental internationalist positions," emphasized the greeting of the 8th PCP Congress to then-President of Angola A. Neto, "the PCP has pointed out the sole correct and true path that should be chosen by the Portuguese democratic state--the establishment of relations with independent Angola on the basis of equality, non-intervention and mutually advantageous interests."<sup>33</sup>

In evaluating the results of the decolonization carried out in 1974-1975, the Communist Party deems them positive overall. Notwithstanding the individual errors and digressions that occurred, closely linked with the fluctuations of internal political conditions in Portugal itself, the democratic forces, and first and foremost the Communist Party, were able to defend and implement the basic idea of decolonization--the former colonies became sovereign independent states.

The role of the PCP in creating favorable conditions for the successful outcome of the process of decolonization is highly regarded in the young African independent states. "Our people," said the head of the delegation of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP), F. Peres, in this regard at the 9th PCP Congress (May-June 1979), "remember the dynamic role of the PCP and the contribution it made to accelerating decolonization and the solution of the colonial problem... which opened up prospects for the establishment of relations of a new type between Portugal and the young African states..."<sup>34</sup>

Under contemporary conditions, the Portuguese communists are doing everything the former Portuguese colonies. In conducting this policy, revolutionary-only fulfilling its internationalist duty, but is also concerned for the national interests of the country and is making a material contribution to normalization and the development of friendly relations between the peoples of Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African states.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The uprising in Luanda of 4 Feb 61 started the armed struggle for the independence of the Angolan people. In January of 1963 and September of 1964, the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique respectively took up arms in the fight against the colonizers.
2. See: The Struggle for the Liberation of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa. Moscow, 1975, p 9.
3. Bento Gonsalves. Os comunistas. Porto, 1976, p 117.
4. See: The Struggle..., p 9.
5. See: The 5th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party. Moscow, 1959, p 214.
6. The proviso was removed at the 5th Congress.
7. 5th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, p 212.
8. 1st Congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Luanda, 4-10 Dec 77. Moscow, 1978, p 52.
9. 5th Congress..., p 270.
10. Ibid., p 271.
11. VIII Congresso do PCP. 11 a novembro 1976. Lisboa, 1979, p 207.
12. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA. 1976, No 10, p 65.
13. See: A. Cunhal. The Way to Victory. Moscow, 1967, p 104.
14. See: Documentos do CC do PCP (1965-1974). Lisboa, 1975, p 129.
15. Programa e estatutos do PCP. Lisboa, 1974, p 23.
16. Ibid., pp 61-62.
17. A. Cunhal. A Revolucao portuguesa. O passado e o futuro. Lisboa, 1976, p 49.
18. A defesa acusa. Lisboa, 1975, pp 146-147.
19. A. Cunhal. Op. cit., p 50.
20. The Struggle..., p 20.
21. Documentos do CC do PCP (1965-1974), p 67.
22. AVANTE! 24 Jun 82, Suppl., p 15.
23. The African Communist. 1975. No 61, p 51.



24. Documentos do CC do PCP (1965-1974), p 331.
25. O Diario. 15 Mar 81.
26. See: O. Martyshin. "Afrikanskaya revoliutsionnaya demokratiya" [African Revolutionary Democracy]. Moscow, 1981, p 115.
27. IX Congresso do PCP. 31 May-3 Jun 79. Lisboa, 1979, p 202.
28. Portugal. Constitution and Legislative Documents. Moscow, 1979, p 30.
29. A. Cunhal. Discursos politicos (Abril/Julho de 1974). Lisboa, 1975, p 35.
30. Comunicados do CC do PCP (Abril/Dezembro de 1974). Lisboa, 1975, p 85.
31. VII Congresso (Extraordinario) do PCP. 20 Oct 74. Intervencoes, Saudacoes, Documentos. Lisboa, 1974, p 297.
32. Documentos politicos do CC do PCP. Vol 3. Lisboa, 1976, p 156.
33. 8th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party. Moscow, 1977, p 225.
34. IX Congresso do PCP, p 225.

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## ANCIENT ROOTS OF JAPAN'S CURRENT NATIONALISM ASSESSED

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[Article by Yu.D. Mikhaylova: "The School of National Studies in Japan (On the Question of the Sources of Japanese Nationalism)"]

[Excerpts] More works have recently appeared in Japan and the West on the history of social thought in Japan in the latter Middle Ages, in Japanese historiography called the Tokugawa period (1603-1867). Whereas in the 1950s bourgeois scholars saw the cause of the rapid transformation of Japan into a developed capitalist state first and foremost in its acceptance of Western culture, including bourgeois socio-economic and philosophical teachings, a tendency later prevailed to explain the causes of the successful development of the country by the specific features of its traditional socio-economic and ideo-political structures. Interest accordingly increased in the teachings of those thinkers that had first spoken of the necessity of restoring imperial power and uniting the country for the purpose of averting colonial enslavement. These tendencies are typical of the research of Maruyami Masao, Hagi Noboru, Matsumoto Sannokse, A. Craig, D. Earl, H. Harootunian and other scholars.<sup>1</sup>

Interest in the ideology of the national movement in Japan is quite logical. It is well known that the national factor played a large role in the process of the bourgeois revolution of the Meiji (1867-1868) and the establishment of capitalism in Japan. Thus, nationalism facilitated Japanese awareness of their place in the world, an understanding of the backwardness of the country and the involvement of traditions to overcome it. One reason for the particular effectiveness of nationalism is the widespread dissemination in the country, even in the pre-bourgeois period, of concepts of the uniqueness of Japanese culture and statehood and the superiority of the Japanese themselves, i.e. those concepts in the channel of which the formation of national self-awareness and the ideology of nationalism began to form.

Soviet Oriental studies devotes much attention to researching the ideology of the national-liberation movements of Asian countries. This problem is illuminated, in particular, in the works of L.R. Polonskaya, Yu.A. Petrosyan, A.G. Krymov, A.I. Ionova and other scholars.<sup>2</sup> Works devoted to the question of the resurrection of the ideology of the national movement in Japan, however, the sole country in Asia where an "independent national state" had

taken shape as early as the second half of the 19th century and conditions had been created "for the most rapid growth of capitalism,"<sup>3</sup> still did not exist.<sup>4</sup> This makes essential research that is based both on the theoretical development by Soviet scholars on problems of the ideology of the national-liberation movement and on an analysis of individual ideological trends in Japan of the latter Middle Ages. This report considers one of the leading ideological trends of Japan in the Tokugawa period--the school of national studies (kokugakuha) and its influence on the process of the formation of nationalism.

Japanese nationalism has deep historical roots. The specific features of the ethnogenesis and the geographical situation of the country, the comparatively great ethnic homogeneity of the population and the monolingual culture, the specific nature of production and the whole course of historical and social development of the country led to the fact that, beginning in antiquity, the Japanese have been clearly aware of their separation from the other peoples of Asia.

In the 18th century, a new ideological trend appeared in Japan--the school of national studies, whose representatives tried to destroy Shinto-Confucian syncretism. They based their constructs only on a "truly Japanese" system of values, which they strove to uncover through study of the works of ancient and medieval literature. The specific nature of the study of the school of national studies consisted of the fact that, having appeared as a result of the crisis of feudal society that had begun, this study took the form of a negation of "everything Chinese," seeing the causes of the socio-economic and ideo-political decline of society in the dissemination of Chinese culture in Japan.

The representatives of the school of national studies, however, were not only philosophers. They also created the study of the "inherently Japanese Way." Moto'ori Norinaga had the main role in its development. Norinaga developed the Shinto idea of godliness and the uninterrupted nature of imperial power to the affirmation of the unique nature and superiority of the state structure of Japan. He took everything that was said in the Kojiki as the object of absolute and unwavering faith. The myth that had been propagated of how the goddess Amaterasu had commanded her grandson Ninigino Mikoto to rule the Land of the Reed Plains (one of the ancient names of Japan) for all time and had proclaimed thereby an "edict of the perpetuity and uninterrupted nature of imperial power" was considered by Norinaga as the fundamental tenet of the "Japanese Way," and he saw its trustworthiness in the fact that "what was said in the edict of the gods corresponds to the current state of affairs."<sup>5</sup> The uninterrupted and perpetual rule of the imperial dynasty and its derivation from Amaterasu was for Norinaga the sole principle on which he based the necessity of worshipping the emperor. The scholar juxtaposed the unique--from his point of view--state structure of Japan with the Chinese one, a distinguishing feature of which he saw as the constant changing of dynasties. According to his conviction, the existence of a sole and uninterrupted imperial dynasty is a pledge of harmony and stability for Japanese society, insofar as it rules out a struggle for power, as well as making the use of any ethno-political study for the ideological manipulation of the subjects unthinkable. Norinaga's criticism was in this instance directed first and

foremost against the Chinese concept of the Mandate of the Heavens, which theoretically envisaged the possibility of a change of rulers. Norinaga called the concept of the Mandate of the Heavens nothing other than a "pretext completely contrived by the wise to justify their aggressive actions,"<sup>13</sup> while the Chinese Way, he felt, is reduced "to two things: how to gain others' possessions and how not to be deprived of power oneself."<sup>14</sup>

Overall, the school of national studies reflected the initial stage in the formation of national self-awareness in Japan. Typical of this stage were criticism of the culture of China and attempts at liberation from Chinese influence. The views and activity of representatives of the school played an important role in the formation of the concept of the superiority of Japan in the consciousness of the Japanese, in that manner preparing the next stage in the development of national self-awareness, which in the 1820s took on the nature of opposition to the pressure on the part of the Western powers. The concept of "driving out the barbarians" and reinforcing kokutai (state essence and national unity) became the ideological expression of this stage.<sup>17</sup>

The discovery of Japan by the Western powers at a time when a transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to monopoly was beginning facilitated the rapid inclusion of Japan in the system of world capitalist relations and accelerated the crisis of feudal society. By the time of the occurrence of revolution in Japan, however, there was no industrial bourgeoisie as a class and correspondingly no bourgeois ideology. The guiding role in the bourgeois revolution belonged to nobility, while the ideology of this revolution became ideas that were not bourgeois ideas in substance at all--"honoring the emperor and driving out the barbarians."

Research on the school of national studies shows how the maturation proceeded of the ideas under the aegis of which the Meiji revolution and their incorporation into the consciousness of the Japanese occurred. In the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, the teachings of Moto'ori Norinaga and the school of national studies overall played a progressive historical role, facilitating the development of the movement for national independence and the unity of the country. At the same time, national was closely linked with nationalistic in the teachings of the school of national studies. Therefore, when the Japanese bourgeoisie entered onto the path of aggression toward the Asian countries, the teachings of the school, reinforced by the reputation of Moto'ori Norinaga as a researcher of the Kojiki, came to be used widely for the purpose of reactionary nationalistic propaganda.

After the rout of militarist Japan in 1945, mentions of the fact that Japan is ruled by a divine emperor, that the Way of Japan was created by the gods and that it is the main one among the other countries of Asia disappeared from the pages of the Japanese press. Beginning in the 1960s, however, tendencies testifying to the aspirations of the ruling circles of the country to resurrect the old ideas of honoring the emperor and national superiority began to be manifested in the realm of politics, ideology and education. A multitude of propaganda campaigns coinciding with the celebration of "noteworthy" dates in Japanese history have been conducted for this purpose: the 100th anniversary of the Meiji revolution, the 80th anniversary of the



Russo-Japanese War, the 50th and 60th anniversaries of the coming of the Emperor Hirohito to the throne, the establishment of the day of founding of the state etc. The program of the "Image of the Desirable Japanese," proposed by the Ministry of Education in 1965 for the education of students at state universities, is permeated with ideas of the superiority of Japan and devotion to the house of the emperor.

Works whose authors (T. Nakane, H. Minami, I. Ben-Dasan, F. Maraini et al) make a fetish of specific features of the Japanese personality and advance various concepts of the Japanese national character have recently been published in great quantities and are enjoying popularity both in Japan and abroad.<sup>18</sup> The essence of many of them is the fact that the specific nature of the psychology of the Japanese (for example, such traits as group consciousness, aspirations to achieve success, the need for a benevolent attitude on the part of those around) is considered to be the chief conditions for the transformation of Japan into a developed capitalist state and the foundation of the contemporary economic successes of the country. In the same manner, the Japanese are inculcated with ideas of national exceptionality and superiority, but in a new and modern interpretation. It is not difficult to see that all of these concepts trace their roots back to the teachings of Moto'ori Norinaga, who also strove to extract the specific features of the historical development of the country from the traits of the national character of the Japanese.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: Maruyama Masao. *Nihon-no siso* (Japanese Ideology). Tokyo, 1961; Haga Noboru. *Bakumatsu kokugaku-no tenkai* (The Development of National Studies in the Bakumatsu Period). Tokyo, 1963; Matsumoto Sannoske. *Tennosey kokka-to seyji siso* (The State of the Imperial System and Political Ideas). Tokyo, 1978; A. Craig. *Choshu in the Meiji Restoration*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1961; D. Earl. *Emperor and Nation in Japan*. Seattle, 1964; H. Harootunian. *Toward Restoration*. Berkeley, 1970.
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3. V.I. Lenin. *Complete Collected Works*, vol 25, p 262.
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12. Moto'ori Norinaga. Tama Kisuge (The Valuable Lacquered Comb Case).--  
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 Literature). Vol 97. Tokyo, 1964, p 326.
13. Moto'ori Norinaga. Naobi-no mitama (The Divine Spirit, Cleansing Evil).  
 --Nihon-no siso (Japanese Ideology). Vol 15. Tokyo, 1969, p 293.
14. Ibid., p 285.
17. For detail see: V.N. Kobets. The Problem of "Japan--West" in the  
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## HAMBURG CONFERENCE ON ASIA, NORTH AFRICA RESEARCH REPORTED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 119-123

[Report by L.B. Alayev and K.M. Truyevtsev: "The 32nd International Congress on Asian and North African Research"]

[Text] The congress took place 25-30 Aug 86 in Hamburg (FRG). Held periodically in various countries of the world, these congresses were and remain major forums for world Oriental studies. About 2,000 delegates from 51 countries took part in the work of the 32nd Congress. A distinguishing feature of it was the substantial growth in representation of scholars from the Orient: scholars from 22 Asian and North African states took part in it; furthermore, many scholars representing the United States, France, West Germany and some other Western countries were emigres from Asia and North Africa. All of this reflects, in our opinion, the active appearance of Afro-Asian scholars at the leading edge of world Oriental studies. The largest were the delegations from India, Japan and the United States. The activeness of the Japanese scholars, who took part not only in a discussion of the themes of Oriental studies traditionally closest to them, but also in the work of the Near-East section and Turkish, Iranian, Islamic and Indian studies, should be noted. Scholars from socialist countries--East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary--took part in the work of the congress, and a representative group of researchers from North Korea came as well. The Soviet delegation, headed by Deputy Director of the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.F. Kim, consisted of 23 people. The Soviet Oriental scholars gave 22 papers, and the texts of another 16 papers was presented to the congress.

Credit must be given to the organizers of the congress--the scholars from the FRG. They not only prepared a number of interesting papers, but they also strove to create a genuinely scholarly and creative atmosphere at the forum and to guard it against any tendencies that were alien and removed from science. As a result, the congress was characterized by a spirit of scholarly collaboration and equal and amicable discussion of the scholars from different countries. Its work transpired in 16 sections and 15 specialists' groups. The division into sections and groups cannot, in our opinion, be deemed incontrovertible: on one hand, a series of thematic issues, such as art and archaeology, the practice of religion (for instance, Buddhist research and Islamic studies) and even such specific ones as Tibetan medicine were allotted

to individual sections, and on the other hand, a number of regional sections (East Asia, Southern Asia, Southeast Asia and the countries of the Pacific Basin, the Near East, North Africa etc.) included the most varied of topics--from literature and linguistics to the latest history, sociology and politics. This made the work of the latter more difficult to a certain extent and reduced the effectiveness of the discussions and interest in them, in view of the fact that disciplines far removed from each other were discussed within the framework of one and the same section, while linguists, philologists, historians, sociologists and political scientists, with many common topics, were divided among various sections and deprived of the opportunity of obtaining an overall picture of the state of the corresponding problems in Oriental studies in general. Apparently, taking into account the growing differentiation of Oriental studies in a thematic regard and the simultaneously growing interest in problems common to the Orient within the framework of one and the same discipline, some thought should be given to the resolution of this problem in the future.

Naturally, this observation in no way diminishes the significance of the congress and the role that it played in the development of Oriental studies and in acquainting the scholars of many countries with the leading works in various realms of it. Over 700 papers, the majority of which provoked animated discussion, were heard over the course of the congress.

The discussions were especially intense in the East Asia (divided into Chinese and Japanese studies subsections), Southern Asia and Islamic studies sections. Interest was furthermore evoked by the section, new to these congresses, on "Personal Computers and Oriental Studies." The Near-East section, where researchers from the Arab countries were unfortunately lacking, was somewhat less active. A number of interesting papers were also read there, however.

Philological and artistic topics were presented at the congress in unusually broad fashion. Papers on Chinese literature encompassed various periods: from antiquity and the middle ages up to the present day. Interesting were papers on the mutual cultural influence of West and East, for example: "China in Contemporary Pro-Western Literature," "Japanese Traditional Theater and Shakespearean Plays" et.

It is difficult to overestimate the contribution of the congress in the realm of philosophy; issues in the history of Chinese, Indian and Muslim-Arab philosophy were considered, including problems of gnosiology, the social and world-view doctrines of antiquity and the middle ages, ethics and aesthetics and the philosophical problems of culture. The presentation of M.L. Titarenko (USSR), "The Influence of Mo Di and his School on the Development of Philosophical and Socio-Political Thought in China," occupied an especial place among these papers.

Much research was presented devoted to this or that problem of antiquity, the Middle Ages and recent and modern history of the countries of Asia and North Africa. Among various aspects were shown the link between tradition and modern times. An overwhelming number of papers was devoted to private fragmentary problems and an analysis of individual periods in the history of this or that people or state (or, more rarely, region). Without negating the



importance or necessity of considering these problems, it should nonetheless be recognized that along with this Oriental studies are constantly in need of a general view of the development of the countries of the Orient and a search for a general conceptual approach to the dynamics of the historical process in the Afro-Asian countries and to a determination of its place in world history. Such an approach would facilitate a deeper understanding of the problem of mutual relations between East and West, about which much was said at the congress but, as a rule, without the presence of a clear conceptual point of view. Unfortunately, no such approach in practice was encountered either in the presentations of the scholars from Western countries or in the papers of the African and Asian Oriental scholars. The impression was moreover created that the interest of the Oriental scholars of foreign (and first and foremost non-socialist) countries in general theoretical problems had weakened to a certain extent, which, in our opinion, leaves the possibility of a re-animation of old, and the development of new, Western-centered theories of the evolution of the Orient and at the same time engenders tendencies toward isolationism and ethnocentrism among a number of Oriental scholars.

Against this background, the paper of USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.F. Kim titled "Theoretical Problems of Soviet Oriental Studies" evoked especially great interest among the audience. The principal theoretical problems in the realm of the history of the Oriental countries that remain under discussion and unresolved are associated with determining the correct correlation between the general and the specific in historical development. The speaker emphasized that the principle of unity of historical development is a cornerstone of Marxist theoretical analysis. At the same time, it is becoming clearer to the extent knowledge is accumulated that the Asian and African countries, at all stages of their historical development, have had substantive typological distinctions from Western European countries. G.F. Kim described the specific features of the development of Oriental societies uncovered by Soviet scholars in recent years, singling out in particular such traits as "Oriental feudalism" as a different correlation between private and state exploitation compared to Western Europe, the difference in the structure of the ruling class, the role of the commune etc. The paper devoted much attention to the interpretation of the general laws of development of colonial peoples, a periodization of national-liberation movements and the specific features of the post-colonial development of the liberated countries.

Two presentations by Soviet scholars, although heard in the section and thematic seminar on Southern Asia, were actual of a general nature and are of interest to specialists: The papers "The Problem of Managing the Economic Development of the Liberated Countries" by V.M. Nemchinov and "The Formation of a Literary Community of the Developing Countries of the Orient" by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Ye.P. Chelyshev.

The attention of scholars in a number of sections was concentrated on the most topical problems of contemporary times, such as the evolution of the social structure of Oriental societies, social dynamics and social tension, ethno-religious relations and conflicts and continuity and separation between tradition and modern times. If one takes the methodological aspect of the issue, perhaps the problem of the correlation of the traditional and the

modern could be considered one of the central issues of the congress. Several papers brought this topic to the forefront, for example "Hinduism in Nepal: Tradition and Syncretism" by N.M. Karpovich (USSR) and "Religion, Karma and Science in Indian Tradition" by P.S. Datta (India). The papers of L.B. Alayev, "The Rural Commune and Traditional Indian Social Structure," K.M. Truyevtsev, "The Social Structure of the Countries of North Africa: Development Paths" and G. Bartel (GDR), "Transformation in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia," were devoted to this topic.

Perhaps the most pointed interpretation of the problem of "tradition--modern times" was obtained in the religion sections, and especially the Islamic-studies one. We note that Western Oriental studies, to a certain extent defined by the currents of "fashion" at Oriental-studies congresses, continues to display increased interest in Buddhism and Islam. But whereas interest in Buddhism is to a certain extent linked with several phenomena in contemporary Western culture (for instance, the continuing, albeit in weakened form, "Buddhist renaissance" brought up as early as the "beatnik" movement in the 1950s, and then the "hippies" in the 1960s, testimony to which was the presence at the congress of Buddhist monks from among Western youth), the actualization of Islamic problems is explained by objective political traits: the Iranian revolution, the radicalization of Islam in a number of Muslim countries and the overall increasing influence of Islam on policy in the Muslim world. That is why the Islamic-studies section was almost the most "politicized" at the congress, distinguished by tempestuous discussion, and during the most interesting presentations it was so swollen with the participants of related sections and groups that the hall sometimes overflowed.

In our opinion, three presentations attracted general attention: "Isnaasharit (Imam) Shiism and Social Protest" by N. Keddi (United States), "Islamic Internationalism" by J. Schultze (FRG) and "Islamic Trends and Movements in the Modern Arab World" by I. Peyev (Bulgaria). Although these papers considered different aspects and phenomena of modern Islam, several common features both in the approach to research and in the conclusions could be discerned in them. First of all, typical of all three works is a systemic-historical approach to the problems under study, a certain depth of analysis, a differentiated view of Islamic movements and trends and a consideration of their dynamics (to a greater extent for I. Peyev and J. Schultze and somewhat less and more in historical retrospective for N. Keddi). Second, all three researchers consider Islamic movements in connection with current politics, and their works give a socio-political analysis (in our opinion, correct overall) of Islamic movements. Third, using concrete material they come to important conclusions that have interesting and, apparently, not accidental coincidence. I. Peyev, tracing the development of politicized Islam since the 19th century to the present day according to the more or less tried and true scheme of dividing it into traditionalists, reformers and modernists, concludes overall that the principal portion of the contemporary Muslim political (first of all bourgeois) establishment is comprised of reformers, at the same time as certain fundamentalist trends (of the "Muslim-Brothers" type), inheriting some of the basic ideas of traditionalism, find support not only among the privileged feudal segments, but even among the backward portion of the population. J. Schultze, describing the situation in political Islam

(including that institutionalized within the framework of the Islamic League) from the point of view of confrontations within the triad of groups of the Muslim intelligentsia--the "ulems" ("scholars" in the definition of J. Schultze), "al-mufakkirun" ("intellectuals") and "salyafists"--comes to the conclusion that the "salyafists" have come to replace the "ulems" as the traditional establishment as the moderate-centrist part of the Muslim intelligentsia, actually seizing the high ground in it today. N. Keddi, in considering the situation in Pakistan chiefly from the point of view of the religious and political situation, emphasized that the rule of Zia ul-Haq, proceeding under the banner of "Islamization," is characterized by an effort to strengthen the positions of Sunni Islam, lying in the channel of the Islamic League overall, at the same time as the Shiite minority (under the definite influence of Khomeini) is gravitating toward political radicalism, distinguished herein by a certain convergence with secular political trends.

The paper of Yu.V. Gankovskiy (USSR) "The National Movement in Modern Pakistan: 1977-1985 (Based on the Sind)" was devoted to the socio-political problems of Pakistan. The paper considered the objective causes and specific nature of the opposition movement in Sind, being, in the opinion of the scholar, the chief center of socio-political conflict in the country. As opposed to other regions, it is namely here that the mass nature of the movement and the effect of leftist-radical forces is manifested most profoundly.

A large number of papers was devoted to economic and socio-political problems of modern India. Many of them were done by Indian scholars, for example: V.L. Pandit in "The Intelligentsia and Modernization: On the Example of the North Indian Intelligentsia," M.I. Khan in "Islam in the Religious Environment: On the Example of Natmir," "India and Non-Alignment: On the Example of Nehru and Non-Alignment" by R.Kh. Sharan, "Ethnos and Policy in India" by O.P. Sharma and a number of others.

The section on Iranian studies (which included Afghanistan) promised to be sharp in a political regard. Unfortunately, the announced paper on an evaluation of the Iranian revolution was not heard. The audience devoted much attention to the paper of R.T. Akhramovian (USSR), dedicated to an analysis of the causes of the 1978 revolution in Afghanistan. Discussion on this paper was brief but benevolent.

The Near East and North Africa section, aside from the papers mentioned, had lively discussion on the presentations of M.O. Dganessian (USSR) "Irregularity of the Development of the Arab Countries and its Consequences (1950-1970)," M. Robbe (GDR) "The Palestinian Question after the Second World War," L. Favvaz (United States) "Changing Roles: Beirut and Damascus in the Last Hundred Years" and L. Ratman (GDR) "The Trade-Union Movement in Egypt during the Rule of the Wafd." The presentation of U. Dann (Israel), "Jordan and the Baghdad Pact in Light of New Information," should be noted, in which, based on recently discovered archival materials of England and the United States, the fabrications of Western propaganda on the supposed underground "anti-Western" activity of the USSR and Jordan and around it in 1955 was in fact unmasked.

The Hamburg congress was thus extremely rich and diverse in the topics of the papers and presentations and was distinguished by breadth and candidness along with the vested-interest nature of the discussions. This survey gives, we hope, some representation of this, although it, naturally is far from a complete embrace of the enormous amount of material that still needs to be interpreted and summarized. The 32nd Congress can with complete justification be called a festival of Oriental studies.

Having dwelled chiefly on the topical problems of modern times, we have mentioned only some of the papers that were read by Soviet scholars. Moreover, the presentations of Soviet researchers, devoted to the history of civilization, the cultural legacy and the history of art and literature, occupied a notable place in the work of the congress. Much interest was aroused by the papers of Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.Kh. Sarkisyan, "The Babylonian Version of Hellenism," O.F. Akimushkin, "The Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its Study," V.N. Goreglyad, "Some Specific Features of the Development of Cultural Self-Awareness in Medieval Japan" and G.G. Beradze, "Georgian Impressions of the 17th-18th Centuries in Bilingual and Monolingual Inscriptions," as well as the presentations of A.A. Gvakhariy, M.Z. Shakhidi and A.N. Imanguliyeva. The participants regarded the presentations of linguists Corresponding Member of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences B.O. Oruzbayeva, V.M. Alpatov, S. Merganov and K.M. Musayev as a serious contribution to the work of the congress.

G.F. Kim took part in the session of the Bureau of the International Union of Oriental and Asian Researchers, in the course of which the question of the time, place and operating procedure for the next, 33rd, Congress on Asian and North African Research was discussed, and it was decided to hold it in Toronto (Canada) in 1989. Taking the observations of the delegates into account, it was decided to impart a more purposeful and problematical nature to the next congress. It will be devoted to the problem of "The Interaction of Civilizations and Cultures," which will, naturally, be treated in all the wealth of its aspects but, it seems, at the same time a thematic integrity will be imparted to the congress and the logic of its structure will be determined. This will also permit the deeper discussion of a number of topical scholarly and political problems.

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## MOSCOW HOSTS NINTH CONGRESS OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 124-127

[Report by V.K. Vigand and N.R. Topuridze: "The 9th International Congress on Ethiopian Studies"]

[Text] The 9th International Congress on Ethiopian Studies took place in Moscow 26-29 Aug 86. Some 85 foreign scholars from 18 countries took part and 138 papers were heard, including 49 of Soviet and 34 of Ethiopian scholars. USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs B.N. Chaplin spoke to the participants in the congress. He relayed the greeting of USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov, in which it was emphasized that our country has had long friendly ties with Ethiopia and that the work of the congress is called upon to make a positive contribution to resolving the tasks of socio-economic development of revolutionary Ethiopia and facilitating the establishment of mutual understanding in the struggle for peace. USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member An A. Gromyko, director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, described in his paper "The Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" the urgent tasks in reviving the international climate, developing multilateral cooperation and fighting for the transformation of Africa into a nuclear-free zone and the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. The speaker noted the widespread support for the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union in Africa, and especially in Ethiopia. Getachou Taddese, acting charge-d'affaires of Socialist Ethiopia to the USSR, noted the interest of scholars from around the world in ancient Ethiopian civilization, as well as the study of the experience of revolutionary transformations in the new Ethiopia.

Five papers were heard at the plenary session. The paper of An.N. Gromyko noted that the holding of the Ninth Congress on Ethiopian Studies and the increase in the number of participants, especially since the revolution, testifies to the growing interest of broad circles of academic society toward this country, and the convocation of the 9th Congress in the USSR is an indicator of the international recognition of the merits of Soviet Ethiopian scholars. The head of the Ethiopian delegation, Leggesse Lemma, reviewed the stage in the national-democratic revolution in the country, the basic directions and difficulties of the process of implementing socio-economic transformations and ways of reinforcing ties with the socialist countries. Leading Ethiopian scholar Taddese Tamrat emphasized the significance of ethnic

integration of the peoples of Ethiopia. Swedish scholar S. Rubenson presented new data on the cultural traditions of medieval Ethiopia. The well-known English Ethiopian scholar R. Panhurst noted the considerable contribution of Russian and Soviet scholars to the study of Ethiopian civilization.

The work of the congress was done in five sections. The sessions of the "Contemporary Problems" section discussed the specific features of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, the socio-economic development of the country after the revolution and its foreign policies.

Among the principal topics that provoked animated discussion in the "Culture and Ethnography" section are ethnic integration and national construction along with new forms of education. The "History after 1800" section considered chiefly questions of feudalism in Ethiopia and its struggle with foreign intervention. The "Linguistics" section devoted much attention to the role of the Amharic language in expanding contacts among the peoples that populate Ethiopia and the tasks of standardizing new terminology. The "Archaeology and Ancient and Medieval History" section expanded the discussion of problems of the reign of Axum, source bases and migration processes.

Among the most important academic results of the work of the congress can be included the contribution of Ethiopian scholars to the development of the following issues.

Theoretical views of the national-democratic revolution, the essence of socialist orientation, the nature of the Ethiopian revolution of 1974 and the stages of its development were set forth in the papers of H. Merdel (GDR), V.N. Kharlamov (USSR) and Tylyakhun Haile-Mariam (Ethiopia). The Ethiopian scholar described the stages of escalation of the national-democratic revolution into a popular-democratic one, noting that the path of socialist orientation has become a component of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia. The social base of the Ethiopian revolution was analyzed by Fedaku Gedamu (Ethiopia). The paper of Ethiopia.A. Shauro (USSR) presented the results of research he did in Ethiopia on the formation of the political consciousness of students and their perception of socialist ideas. There was an animated discussion on the substance of the Ethiopian revolution, the role of the working class and the problems of socialist orientation and the transition to the construction of socialism. Ethiopian graduate students and students studying in the USSR also took part in the discussion. Leggese Lemma in particular noted that the revolution in Ethiopia was not socialist, insofar as society was still not ready to carry out socialist transformations.

Six papers were devoted to foreign aspects of the Ethiopian revolution. In considering the conflict situation in the Horn of Africa region, Western scholars J. Kalki Novati (Italy) and J. Prunier (France) singled out ethnic and subjective factors that impede the settlement of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia. V.V. Maslennikov (USSR) showed both the internal and external causes of the conflict and noted that the implementation of the principle of good neighborliness by socialist Ethiopia had led to a definite improvement in the situation in the region. The paper of D. Ottaway (USA) showed the position of the American administration on the issue of normalizing relations with Ethiopia. The speaker declared that Ethiopia's supposed lack

of a vested interest in holding a dialogue could lead to a reconsideration by the U.S. administration of the issue of further aid to it. In commenting on this presentation, Leggese Lemma noted that the United States is demanding a discussion of issues in the domestic policies of Ethiopia as a preliminary condition of diplomatic relations, which no sovereign state could agree to.

The papers of A.P. Bykov and G.D. Pyatigorskiy (USSR) showed how the Ethiopian revolution has created preconditions for the implementation of close economic collaboration between Ethiopia and the socialist countries, especially in the matter of raising up its agriculture.

Economics scholars analyzed the difficulty of creating modern industry in Ethiopia and collectivizing its agriculture. It was noted that industrialization is a historically essential stage of development. The paper of Yshetu Chole (Ethiopia) reviewed "classic examples" of industrialization (in England, the United States and Japan) and the specific features of the situation in Ethiopia, where industry can develop only interconnected with the development of commodity agriculture, insofar as it is the only source of accumulation in an agrarian country. Individual aspects of the topic of industrial development were reflected in the papers of M. Nedelkova (Bulgaria), Danyel Haile and Selomon Mulugeta (both--Ethiopia) and others.

Much attention was devoted to problems of agriculture: traditional systems of cultivation and their significance under contemporary conditions (Yftessa Alemu--Ethiopia), the making of agriculture into commodity production under the regime of Haile Selassie I and the results of the land reform carried out by the revolutionary government (S. Pausvang--Norway) and the problem of hunger and resettlement (the ties of the latter to cooperation). The paper of G.D. Polyakov (USSR) considered the possibility of applying a Leninist cooperative plan to the conditions of revolutionary Ethiopia, where lower forms of joining the peasants--rural associations or supply cooperatives--are being used instead of direct transition to the creation of production cooperatives. The importance of the correct and gradual solution of the problems of cooperation, which is closely linked first with the systematic resettlement of peasants from the northern and central provinces to the fertile southwest regions and, second, the collective of the peasants from farmsteads to "socialist villages" within a single region (in Western terminology--"villagization"), was emphasized in this regard. The papers of Ethiopian scholars Shiferrau Bekkele and Dessalen Rahmato drew the conclusion that resettlement does not lead to the integration of the resettlers with the local population; they remain unadapted to the new ecological conditions and need centralized food supply. A number of papers by Ethiopian and Western scholars noted nonetheless that migration from north to south is a historically extant practice and an organized nature with a regard for the interests of the local population must be imparted to it. Summing up the results of the discussion, Leggese Lemma emphasized that the systematic resettlement of peasants will make possible the more productive utilization of the country's land resources.

Questions of integration, national construction and new forms of education occupied a special place in the discussion of social problems. In discussing issues of the social life of the country, much attention (especially in the



papers of Soviet scholars) was devoted to the national construction of post-revolutionary Ethiopia and national integration. The successful resolution of these tasks has been considered a precondition for deepening progressive transformations in all spheres of life and economics. Many scholars herein also turned to researching the past of the peoples of Ethiopia.

The foundations of the national policies of the revolutionary government were considered in the papers of Soviet scholars M.V. Rayt and V.S. Yagya. They noted that since the first days of the revolution, the resolution of the national question has become an indispensable part of the progressive policies of the government, consolidated in program documents and implemented in practice. The important role of political enlightenment in the cause of changing the psychology of the masses, breaking ethnic barriers and ensuring successful integration was emphasized. The general theoretical paper of R.N. Ismagilova (USSR), devoted to Africa in general, noted the negative effect of stereotypes of Ethiopian thinking on the processes of national integration and the necessity of profound socio-economic and cultural transformations for the successful resolution of the national question, which acutely faces the majority of the states of sub-Saharan Africa. Its resolution under the conditions of Ethiopia will be facilitated by the extant practice of many centuries of inter-ethnic contacts, the appearance of a certain commonality in material and spiritual culture and the creation of a general Ethiopian culture along with the development of the cultures of the individual peoples. This process was also facilitated by factors such as the spread of the Amharic language (Taddese Tamrat and Fekadu Gedamu), population migration (R. Panhurst) and the centralization of political power (R. Escher--GDR and Gebre Selasie Syyum Hagos--Ethiopia).

Social transformations such as the creation of a modern economic base for overcoming many centuries of Ethiopian backwardness assume the suitable training of national personnel. Many of the papers of Ethiopian scholars considered the problems of secondary and higher education, including questions of organizing academic research. They noted the considerable expansion of the learning base (Mulugeta Semru and Hussein Ahmed), the convergence of education to the contemporary needs of the country (Mekkesse Belyachou, Yusuf Omer Abdi) and the planned nature of the training of academic personnel and the class approach to organizing academic research (Teuolde-Byrhan Ygziabber). Syyum Uolde showed how the role of art in the life of society has changed under the effect of revolution. The speaker related new trends in the development of painting, poster graphics and sculpture, the appearance of a galaxy of young artists with revolutionary sentiments, the introduction of broad population segments to art through the organization of festivals and competitions and the development of popular creativity. J. Gartley (USA) reported on the new role of the mass media in developing primary education. The Ethiopian scholars, graduate students and students at Soviet institutions of higher learning entered into animated discussion on this topic along with scholars from the USSR and Sweden, who noted such successes in education as the development of local languages, the growth of national and political consciousness and changes in the elitist nature of education. E. Gankin (USSR) noted that the new trends noted in the Amharic language, being enriched by modern political and scientific terminology and serving as a connecting link for other languages, will facilitate the further development of national integration.



The study of the ancient history of Ethiopia (the reign of Axum), the establishment of a centralized state in the era of feudalism and Western-European expansion in this region in recent times has traditionally been done by foreign scholars, but Ethiopian researchers are gradually beginning to participate more actively in this (for example, the well-known historian Meryd Uolde Aregay).

Papers were heard at the congress that illuminated in new fashion a number of historical events, first and foremost thanks to the use of sources unknown earlier or the employment of new research techniques. This includes the papers of Soviet scholars that advanced new hypotheses on the migration of the population to West Africa in the pre-Axum period (the Fulbe nationality)--G.V. Zubko (USSR)--and to the east (the Sokotra Islands--G.L. Khit, V.V. Naumkina, V.S. Shinkarenko and A.A. Zubova (USSR)--as well as the archaeological research of Western scholars (J. Michaels of the United States and F. Andre of France) and the development of a new approach to methodological analysis of medieval chronicles of the Ethiopian kings (S.B. Chernetsov--USSR). These works make possible a reconsideration of some fixed conceptions of the fact that pre-Axum culture was just an offshoot from southern Arab roots, the effect of the Egyptian-Meroite religion on the ancient societies of Ethiopia and the role of the Amharic language in medieval manuscripts.

In researching the specific features of Ethiopian feudalism and its transition to an absolutist monarchy, the speakers uncovered both general historical features of this formation (Yu.M. Kobishchanov--USSR) and immature forms of absolutism specific to Ethiopia (F. Gemst--United States and V.S. Yagya--USSR). A number of papers showed new possibilities for the periodization of the medieval history of Ethiopia (based on royal writings, lists of the metropolitans or changes in the forms of "polyudya." Aside from the papers of Western scholars with a treatment of individual attempts at the political and economic partitioning of Ethiopia at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, the paper of Ethiopian scholar Bahre Zoude on the transition of imperialist states to covert forms of colonization of the country after the defeat of Italy in the battle at Adua (at the end of the 19th century) was of interest. New materials from Paris archives was presented in a paper on international solidarity with Ethiopia in the years of Italian fascist intervention (D.P. Ursu--USSR).

At the concluding session, a number of participants expressed gratitude to the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the good organization of the work of the congress and the hospitality. Taddese Beyyene, director of the Institute of Ethiopian Research of the University of Addis-Ababa, noted that the increase in the number of participants in the congress testifies to the influx of young new Ethiopian scholars, including in Ethiopia itself, as a result of changes in the system of national education. American scholar D. Krammi, a member of the international organizing committee, noted the splendid organization of the congress and thanked its organizers for the opportunity presented to its participants to become more closely acquainted with the way of life of Soviet citizens.

In his concluding remarks, An.A. Gromyko expressed gratitude for the high evaluation of the contribution of the Africa Institute to the success of the congress and noted that the Ethiopian scholars were able to accomplish much for the study of the Ethiopia of the past and evaluate the prospects for its further development on the path of socialist orientation.

In accordance with established tradition, all of the papers of the participants will be published in "Works of the 9th International Congress on Ethiopian Research." It was decided to hold the 10th International Congress on Ethiopian Research in Paris in 1988.

The holding of the congress in Moscow demonstrated the broad scope of Ethiopian studies at the academic institutions of the USSR and made it possible for foreign scholars to become acquainted with the relics of Ethiopian culture that have been collected by Russian scholars in the past century in Ethiopia.

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## YOUTH SEMINAR ON PACIFIC BASIN HELD IN NAKHODKA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 128-130

[Report by Yu.L. Levin: "Pacific Seminar in Nakhodka"]

[Text] The 8th International Youth Seminar of researchers of problems of peace and collaboration in the Pacific basin, organized by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR in conjunction with institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries and the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa, was held in July of 1986.

Taking part in the discussions and sessions were about 100 representatives of national youth, trade-union and other public organization, universities and academic research centers from 29 socialist, developing and developed capitalist states, as well as 11 international and regional organizations--the United Nations, UNESCO, ESCATO, The World Peace Council (WPC), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Student Union (ISU) and others. Specialists of the older generation from the USSR, the United States, Japan and India also presented papers and reports. Scholars from the PRC took part in the work of the seminar for the first time.

The seminar discussed three topics: "The Pacific Region Today: New Trends and Old Problems"; "The Pacific Ocean: Opportunities and Dangers in the New Stage of Scientific and Technical Revolution"; and, "The Joint Actions of Youth in the Struggle for the Peaceful Future of the Asian-Pacific Region." A roundtable was also held within the framework of the seminar devoted to problems of the economic and political interdependence of the countries of the Pacific basin.

The participants in the seminar expressed alarm in connection with the acute and strained situation in the world and in the Pacific region, emphasizing that averting nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons is an urgent and vitally important task in the cause of reinforcing international stability. It was noted in the course of the discussion that the international political climate in the Pacific Asian region since the middle of the 1980s has been typified by a clash of two opposing policies. On the one hand, military presence is increasing in many countries of Asia and the Pacific basin, which

is increasing tension. Nuclear-missile forces are proliferating in the region, the concentration of armed forces is growing and foreign military bases are expanding. On the other hand, a number of positive phenomena are being observed in international life in the region, first and foremost the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing introduced by the USSR on 6 Aug 85 and continued to the end of 1986. Also of great significance are: the adoption of obligations by the USSR and the PRC not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; the movement of the Pacific states and peoples against nuclear arms and their testing and against the calling of vessels equipped with nuclear weapons in their ports; the announcement of a new initiative in New Zealand and a number of southern Pacific countries and countries of Oceania of a zone free of nuclear weapons; and, the strengthening economic independence of the developing countries of the region and their growing determination to resist pressure for the purpose of defending their national sovereignty and independence and ensure the right of peoples to self-determination.

The seminar participants noted that in the face of old unsolved problems caused by the specific nature of the political and economic relations of the countries of the Pacific basin, a number of new phenomena that are further complicating the regional situation are arising. A number of factors were singled out that are associated with the contemporary stage of scientific and technical revolution that not only reveal new opportunities for development, but also bear a multitude of unforeseen dangerous consequences. The activation of the policies of American imperialism in the Pacific basin in the 1970s and 1980s has been accompanied by growth in the strategic potential of the United States in the region for the purpose of stimulating a new stage in the arms race, more flexible methods of accomplishing U.S. expansion and attempts to integrate the countries of the region into the structure of American military preparations based on the development of partnership relations. This increases the regional level of competition and limits the freedom of choice of independent paths of development by Asian Pacific countries.

Among the factors that could have an effect on the political situation in the region, the seminar participants singled out the economic construction in China and the increasing reputation of China in the international arena.

The objective striving of Japan to play a more active role in the Asian Pacific region combined with the resurrection of nationalistic and militaristic elements of Japanese foreign policy poses a considerable threat to the preservation of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific. A number of presentations expressed serious concern in connection with the measures being taken by the ruling circles of Japan in reconsidering the existing scheme of foreign-policy ties of the country and creating their own powerful armed forces. The decision of the Japanese leadership to take part in implementing the American SDI program is causing particular alarm in the countries of the region.

The participants in the discussions devoted considerable attention to problems of economic development and the growth of economic interdependence among the countries of the region. It was noted that the activation of international



economic ties is facilitating the development of integrating processes here, which have become one of the main factors in the increased economic dynamism of the Pacific countries and their internal territories directly adjoining the Pacific according to the principal national-economic indicators compared to the Mediterranean level and other regions. This provided the grounds for some scholars from the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union to speak of the displacement of the center of gravity in world economic contacts from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the transformation of the Pacific region into the "most dynamic center of the world."<sup>1</sup>

The presentations of economic researchers emphasized the growing significance of exports and imports in the economic development of the countries in the Asian Pacific region. The ever broader utilization of the foreign economic sphere to accelerate the development of science-intensive sectors, the assimilation of progressive scientific and technical achievements and the raising of economic efficiency overall was noted. The growth in foreign trade in machine-building products was one and a half times greater than that of industrial production. Some 15-20 percent of all products produced in the machining industry of the Pacific states goes to the foreign market. Products in volumes exceeding 15 percent of internal production are imported--these indicators are somewhat lower for Japan and the United States, 14 and 8 percent for exports and 7 and about 10 percent for imports--and it often reaches 80-90 percent for a number of sectors in the newly industrialized countries of Southeast Asia.

The competition in the world market and long-term trends of change in world supply and demand have begun to have a serious direct, and in many instances decisive, influence on the state of the machining industry of the countries of the Pacific region and the directions and rates of their structural changes. The marketability of products compared to the analogous products of other countries has acquired fundamental significance for the development of the majority of the sectors of the machining industry. The necessity of a regard for the world economic situation and the prospects for its development has ultimately advanced to the forefront in the development and implementation of specific measures of domestic as well as foreign policy.

In the course of the discussion, it was affirmed that since the middle of the 1970s serious changes are occurring in the economy of the Pacific region and in the world overall. They are associated with the new situation in meeting the need for natural resources, the introduction of stricter ecological standards, especially in the developed countries, and the acceleration of the scientific and technical revolution. A structural restructuring of national economies has begun in the leading industrial states of the region, and a gradual re-orientation toward the production and export of technologically complex and science- and capital-intensive items is being observed.

A tendency toward a worsening of competition in the sphere of regional international economic relations was stressed in presentations at the seminar. The most developed capitalist countries--the United States and Japan--are making active use of currency and finance levers and a monopoly on the latest achievements of science and technology for the purpose of preserving the subordinate position of the less developed countries and their economic

vulnerability. The significance of problems associated with the need to ensure a regime of international economic security is therefore growing. It was emphasized that this process could be begun with bilateral efforts, gradually shifting to a multilateral basis, so as gradually to embrace the whole Pacific region. The importance of internal political processes and social shifts that have qualitative significance and are inseparable from a break with traditional political structures and psychology in the countries of the Asian Pacific region was also noted.

A number of the foreign participants and Soviet scholars representing institutes of the Far East Academic Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences devoted their presentations to problems in the rational use and protection of the mineral and biological resources of the Pacific Ocean and the development of maritime transport and the essential infrastructure. The participants in the sessions described the great potential opportunities for the collaboration of the Pacific states in assimilating ocean resources and the peaceful use of its power and water.

The speakers emphasized the significance of political initiatives aimed at reducing regional confrontation and supported the idea of convening an Asia-wide forum that would consider possible ways of limiting the arms race, resolving conflicts and creating favorable conditions for collaboration among the Asian Pacific states.

The development of regional collaboration meets the fundamental interests of the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. It will facilitate growth in their political roles and reputations along with their economic independence.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. J. Letiche. The International Economics of the Pacific Rim.--Paper Presented at the 8th International Seminar of Young Researchers on Cooperation in the Pacific. Nakhodka, July 1986.

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#### ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OF BOOK ON ORIENTAL SOCIETIES

[Editorial Report] Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian Number 2, March-April 1987 carries on pages 141-169 the second part of a discussion/review of a 1984 book, "The Evolution of Eastern Societies: Synthesis of the Traditional and Contemporary". Responsible editors of the book are L.I. Reysner and N.A. Simoniya. The authorial collective consists of Z.N. Galich, A.V. Gordon, A.V. Zhuravskiy, A.I. Ionova, A.M. Petrov, Ye.B. Rashkovskiy, L.I. Reysner and N.I. Simoniya. The first part of the discussion appears in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI Number 1, January-February 1987 [For summary see JPRS Report: Soviet Union JPRS-UAA-87-001].

Discussants include V.G. Khoros, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.A. Pisarev, Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa (ISAA) of Moscow State University; A.S. Mugruzin, Institute of the Far East under the USSR Academy of Sciences; S.M. Ivanov, Leningrad State University; Yu.G. Aleksandrov, Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences; I.V. Sledzevskiy, Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and M.A. Cheskov, IMEMO.

Conclusion of the discussion will be carried in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI Number 3, May-June 1987.

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## NEW SOVIET WORKS REFUTE IDEA OF CHINA'S REVOLUTION AS AGRARIAN

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 170-181

[Article by A.V. Meliksetov: "The Agrarian Peasant Problem in China: A New Stage of Study"]

[Text] In recent years, a fundamentally new stage in researching a broad circle of problems associated with the history of the peasant movement and its place in the development of the Chinese revolution has been noted. This stage is characterized by a substantive reconsideration of long and deeply held positions that were considered crucial to the treatment of recent Chinese historiography.

The discussion concerns first and foremost the concept of the agrarian peasant revolution. The concept of the pivotal and decisive significance of the agrarian peasant question for the fate of the Chinese revolution took shape, in essence, from the first steps of Soviet Chinese studies, which coincided with the establishment of the communist movement in China. At the same time, program and political documents of the Comintern formulated theories of the Chinese revolution as an agrarian peasant one, and agrarian revolution as the chief mechanism for the conquest of power. From the middle of the 1920s, these positions entered solidly into Soviet and, more broadly, Marxist Chinese studies for many decades. Chinese material largely became a model for the design of plans for revolutionary development in other countries of the Orient, having a substantial influence on the postulation of the agrarian peasant question in Soviet Oriental studies.

The positions indicated above were accepted by the leadership of the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] after discussions and a certain amount of intraparty struggle. Moreover, an absolutization of the thesis of agrarian revolution, the imparting of a self-sufficient nature to the peasant movement and the leading role in the revolution process to the peasant, gradually occurred in the treatments of Mao Tsetung and his allies. A Maoist philosophy has begun to take shape since the 1940s that ascribes to Mao alone the development of the "correct" concept of the agrarian peasant question, supposedly opposing the Comintern one, overcoming its "errors" and the like and in that manner opening up the way for the victory of the Chinese revolution.



In the theoretical grounding of these theses, Soviet historiography proceeded from the concept that China was facing its "1905" in the sense of the decisive significance of the agrarian factor. This judgment by analogy was groundless for a number of reasons, chief among which, in my opinion, were the following: first, the incongruity of identifying the social structure of Russia and China, especially the agrarian structure; second, the erroneous nature of the conceptions (which V.I. Lenin pointed out at one time)<sup>1</sup> that the agrarian question is the main one in all bourgeois-democratic revolutions; and, third, a basic underestimation of the semi-colonial status of China.

The actual course of events did not confirm these theoretical constructs: the Chinese revolution did not acquire an agrarian peasant nature, while the peasantry did not become the leading social force, remaining passive on the socio-political plane. At the same time, the very fact of the victory of the CCP, which was perceived as confirmation of the correctness of its political line in general and the agrarian policy in particular, long kept historians from approaching objectively the evaluation of this important subject. Only the tragic course of events in the PRC in the 1960s, as well as the dead end the PRC economy entered largely as a consequence of carrying out the Maoist agrarian program, forced a new look at the history of the postulation of the agrarian peasant question as well.

It is noteworthy that the indicated situation ultimately was reflected--and I would like to emphasize this, moving beyond the bounds of the designated topic--in the development of contemporary Chinese historiography. The general nature of historiographical inquiry in the PRC is in large measure close to that already done by Soviet historiography and, perhaps, is occurring without any effect of it. The discussions that have unfurled in the PRC since the end of the 1970s are quite rapidly eroding, it would seem, Maoist mythology that seemed unshakable quite recently. Moreover, official historiography--as paradoxical as it may be at first glance--is leaving old positions especially quickly on some issues.<sup>2</sup> This is undoubtedly linked not only with scholarly needs, but also with practical ones--the necessity of discarding bankrupt agrarian policy and developing a new one that corresponds to actual requirements for the consistent development of the Chinese village.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Soviet Chinese scholars turned to agrarian problems in connection with the sharp debate with the Maoist interpretation of history. Within the framework of this debate, extremely fruitful for historiography, the Maoist mythology on the agrarian peasant question was shattered and the genuine history of the formation of the CCP program on the agrarian peasant question, the large role of the Comintern in the development of this program and the like were uncovered. Overcoming Maoist dogma, Soviet Chinese studies were as if liberated from a heavy burden and obtained the opportunity of proceeding along the path of independent and creative study of contemporary Chinese history.

There is a certain paradox in the historiographical situation, it seems to me, in the fact that Soviet Chinese scholars at that time did not at all face up to the tasks of refuting already quite outmoded conceptions of the historical place of the agrarian peasant question in the development of the Chinese revolution. Independent and creative research of enormous (and to a

considerable extent new) factual material, free from non-scholarly purposes, gradually led them to conclusions that, it turns out, are quite unexpected.

The milestone that can be noted as the beginning of the development of new trends in Soviet historiography on this issue is undoubtedly the appearance of a book by A.S. Mugruzin in 1970 devoted to a study of the agrarian structure of China.<sup>3</sup> It is typical that the author himself saw one of the chief tasks of his work as namely to demonstrate the "inevitability of agrarian revolution."<sup>4</sup> Having ultimately placed the study of the agrarian peasant question on the basis first and foremost of economic analysis, A.S. Mugruzin in that manner inflicted (aside from the dependence on his intentions then) a most powerful blow to the conventional concept of the agrarian peasant question in China. In papers and articles that followed the book, the causes of the socio-political passivity of the Chinese peasantry and the lack of preconditions for agrarian revolution were demonstrated convincingly.

As I understand it, these causes can be reduced to three principal ones. First, the closely linked inadequacy of land and overpopulation, the impossibility of even hypothetically satisfying the hunger for land through an overall redistribution of land, had a material effect on social relations in the Chinese village. The more so as this could not be done at the expense of the landowners, in whose hands, as proven by the calculations of A.S. Mugruzin, was roughly half as much land as was assumed--proceeding from a priori documents--by researchers. Second, insofar as the main and most unacceptable thing for the peasantry, as A.S. Mugruzin emphasized, was tax exploitation and insofar as peasant-owners nonetheless predominated in the Chinese village, the main thing was the contradiction not in the "lessor--lessee" system, but in the "treasury--peasant" system. Third, the schism of the Chinese village occurred primarily not between the peasantry and "feudal forces" and not even between the working peasantry and the exploitative portion of the village, but rather along the lines of the "haves--have-nots." The presence of an enormous pauperized body of peasantry moreover "displaces all concepts of poverty and riches."<sup>5</sup>

The convincingness of the socio-economic analysis done by A.S. Mugruzin has permitted historians to take a new look at many socio-political processes in the Chinese village and has fundamentally altered the approach to these problems. In articles in the 1980s, in which the definite results of many years of research are already being summed up, A.S. Mugruzin ascertains with a feeling of rightful satisfaction the reconsideration of former approaches to problems of the agrarian peasant revolution, noting that our domestic historiography is overcoming (but has not yet completely overcome) "the effect of such conceptions."<sup>6</sup>

Speaking of the theoretical sources for the reconsideration of our conceptions on this problem, it is essential to point out first and foremost the work of M.A. Cheshkov and N.A. Simoniya. Without being a Chinese scholar and developing an extremely broad Oriental-studies problem, M.A. Cheshkov at the same time devoted much attention in his 1969 feature namely to an analysis of Chinese-studies material as the most representative for his theme. And this analysis permitted him to uncover the "sharp contradiction" in Soviet historiography that had taken shape as early as by the end of the 1920s and--I

add--continued to have an effect for many years: "The slogan of agrarian reform, advanced at that time as an expression of the essence (!) and pivot of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist revolution, required proof that the objective of the revolution existed (large landowning), otherwise the revolution would acquire the nature of a paupers' uprising more than a bourgeois-democratic coup. The scientific approach was based on the necessity of preliminary deep study of the forms of land ownership both on the historical plane and on the plane of its place in the world capitalist system."<sup>7</sup> M.A. Chesnikov, however, did not limit himself just to the assertion of this contradiction, but strove to uncover the most fruitful positions of Soviet historiography of that period. His indication of the fact that in its description of the peasantry, the Comintern in those years "considered more important its position in that system of social relations in which the principal role was played not by semi-feudal land ownership, but those forms in which it was linked with the state (and I add, was a derivative instance)" thus seems important to me.<sup>8</sup>

The theoretical work of N.A. Simoniya in 1973 on problems of socio-economic development of the Asian countries had especially great significance for the reconsideration of fixed conceptions. In this work, in my view one of the most significant theoretical works in our Oriental studies, the author not only showed the "actual lack of mass revolutionary insurrections by the peasantry in the countries of Asia of an anti-feudal nature"<sup>9</sup> but even gave profound socio-economic substantiation for this phenomenon, clearly revealing itself in the postwar years. "All of this is explained," wrote N.A. Simoniya, "apparently, by the fact that the evolutionary development of society in many Asian countries reached a stage (to different extents in various countries, of course) where 'the feudal object' of the revolutionary form of struggle had already disappeared or been transformed, while 'the capitalist object' had still not been clearly drawn, purely capitalist contradictions had not yet become decisive in the political struggle and the masses themselves were still not aware of anti-capitalist inclinations to a certain extent."<sup>10</sup> Mastering the materials on the history of China, N.A. Simoniya made active use of them in his reasoning. He repeatedly referred in particular to the book of A.S. Mugruzin, supporting certain of its positions and debating others. All of this made the work of N.A. Simoniya especially significant for Chinese scholars, since it not only indicated the way to a theoretical re-interpretation of many fixed positions, but also closely linked the logic of the socio-economic processes that had transpired in China with general Asian and worldwide trends.

All of these theoretical developments at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s had a material effect on the specific historical research of Chinese scholars.

The agrarian peasant theme was researched especially actively in the materials of the National Revolution of 1925-1927--one of the all-round subjects at all stages of development of Soviet Oriental studies. The first step on the path of radical liberation from dogmatic conceptions and the influence of Macist historiography was made in works of a general nature. The monograph of M.F. Yuryev<sup>11</sup> and the work of V.I. Glunin<sup>12</sup>, while not especially considering agrarian peasant problems, at the same time gave a real picture of the



development of revolutionary events, in which a small place remained for agrarian peasant revolution. M.F. Yuryev herein drew the conclusion, quite material for the given stage of Soviet historiography, that "a general Chinese peasant revolution did not occur either in 1925-1926, when the peasantry of Guangdong waged a decisive battle with the landowners and participated actively in the rout of the militarists, or in 1927, when the center of the peasant movement was shifted to Hunan and Hubei."<sup>13</sup> V.I. Glunin developed and deepened these conclusions, bringing them to their logical conclusion--the rejection of the objective possibility itself of the development of agrarian revolution in the historical period under consideration.<sup>14</sup> He did not, however, further eliminate this possibility. He thus noted, speaking of the instructions of the 5th CCP Congress (1927) "for the expansion of agrarian revolution," that they "withstood the test of time."<sup>15</sup>

The basic research of L.P. Delyusin gave an exhaustive answer to the question of the objective possibilities and real features of the peasant movement in the historical period under review. The author demonstrates convincingly that "the leaders of the CCP took their revolutionary sentiments and their radical views for the sentiments and demands of the worker-peasant masses," while in fact "neither the Chinese peasantry nor the communists were ready" to fight for radical agrarian slogans.<sup>16</sup> Undertaking a radical re-evaluation of approaches to the peasant movement that took shape in domestic historiography in the 1920s-1950s, however, L.P. Delyusin, in the same manner as V.I. Glunin, did not try to extrapolate his conclusions to further stages of the Chinese revolution. In the given instance, he moreover stated, solidifying with the approach of V.I. Glunin, that the program of agrarian revolution adopted at the 6th CCP Congress (1928), the realization of which did not occur in the time under consideration, "retained its significance right up until the victory of the popular revolution."<sup>17</sup> It seems to me that this is connected not only with the understandable restraint of the researcher striving not to draw conclusions on problems that go beyond the chronological boundaries of the basic topic, but also the vexing phenomenon that the conclusions obtained by the author on the basis of deep analysis of party political documents are not compared directly with the socio-economic reality of the Chinese village, little changed in subsequent decades.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, the book does not take into account the materials and conclusions made in the monograph of A.S. Mugruzin, and it is not even mentioned by L.P. Delyusin. I am deeply convinced, however, notwithstanding these observations, that L.P. Delyusin's book should be considered in conjunction with the economic research of A.S. Mugruzin as the work that determined to a decisive extent the reconsideration of the whole complex of agrarian peasant problems of China in recent times by Soviet historiography.

The approach of L.P. Delyusin was further developed by A.S. Kostyayeva on a relatively narrow but very important problematical basis. A.S. Kostyayeva analyzed the role of peasant unions in the revolutionary struggle that developed in China. Her basic premise that "the peasant movement of 1925-1927, as a rule, is understood to mean namely the activity and struggle of village organizations of a new type" is justified. The conclusion of A.S. Kostyayeva that the peasant unions were themselves "an optimal type of organization offered by the parties as a united front" to the peasantry, that "through the creation of similar organizations they would open up the path to



liberation from arbitrary rule and dictatorship,"<sup>20</sup> also had great significance for the deeper development of agrarian peasant problems within the framework of the given period as well.

The beginning of the 1960s was noted for the publication of summary works in which the agrarian peasant question in the National Revolution of 1925-1927 was considered from the fundamentally new point of view of evaluating all of the recent history of China.<sup>21</sup> Within the framework of our topic, the monograph of L.P. Delyusin and A.S. Kostyayeva, published in 1955 and executed in an unconventional genre for Soviet Chinese studies, combining research on primary sources with historiographical methods of studying the problems of the National Revolution of 1925-1927, has particular significance. Much attention in this work was devoted to an analysis of the agrarian peasant problem, which received--largely, in my opinion, thanks to the novelty of the book's genre--interesting treatment.

Summing up the results of historiographical comparison of the various and changing points of view in the resolution of the agrarian peasant problem in the course of the revolution of 1925-1927, the authors write: "Since the end of the 1960s, other evaluations of the peasant movement have begun to appear in the literature, the results of the peasant struggle in Guangdong, Hunan and Hubei have begun to be shown more objectively and the fact of the irregularity of the development of the movement, its local nature and the lack of a nationwide Chinese peasant revolution has been emphasized. For that reason, researchers have not only come to reject the agrarian revolution, but also to acknowledge the lack of ideological and psychological readiness of the Chinese peasantry to postulate the very question of the transfer of landholdings to them."<sup>22</sup>

The treatment in this work of the very fact of the absence of preconditions for agrarian peasant revolution in the period under study, which absence does not assume the appearance of these preconditions in the future either, seems especially important to me and forces a corresponding consideration of CCP policy. The concluding words of the book are quite typical in this regard: "One of the reasons for this great victory (in 1949--A.M.) was the interpretation and summarization of the rich experience of the revolution of 1925-1927. Although the CCP did not reconsider its attitude toward the errors of those years in its official propaganda and qualified them as before as right-wing opportunist, in practice it largely altered its evaluation of the place and role of various classes in the Chinese Revolution... Thus, having retreated in the 1940s from the outwardly revolutionary positions of the 1920s, the CCP was able to lead and bring to a successful conclusion the national-democratic revolution that overthrew the anti-populist Chiang Kai-Shek regime."<sup>23</sup>

Emphasizing the great significance of researching the agrarian peasant question in the National Revolution of 1925-1927 for the development of a new overall conceptual approach, it is at the same time impossible not to note that the conclusions of this research should have been verified and supplemented on the basis of a study of the materials of the following decade, when the Comintern and the CCP advanced agrarian revolution as the principal means of achieving revolutionary aims (it is no accident that this decade is

often called the "period of agrarian revolution" in historiography). It is characteristic that in their monograph L.P. Delyusin and A.S. Kostyayeva, based on materials of the rear-guard battles of the revolution that preceded the 6th CCP Congress, had already expressed a number of opinions that were fundamentally important for the development of general conceptions on the nature of the peasant movement that the communists had tried to organize: "Raising the battle for a redistribution of the land in the rural regions of the country, the communists assumed that they were of a socialist nature. In reality... the Chinese communists acted in traditional forms of anti-governmental struggle... A specific feature of these forms of struggle was the fact that the peasantry overall remained politically passive and inert. It was not transformed into an independent and spontaneous political force able to comprehend fully and formulate and defend its interests. The communist party was the expressor of its interests, and led the peasant masses of a given locality to the extent that it possessed power, based on armed detachments. These detachments were naturally replenished through the rural youth. In this sense, the army of the soviet regions was a peasant army, but the army of Guomindang, defending the interests of the class enemy of the peasantry--the landowners--was just as peasant in composition. The peasantry, especially the poorest segments, supported the communists while they had power... As soon as the organizing force in the form of the armed detachments disappeared, they were powerless to defend their interests and actively resist the restoration of the old order."<sup>24</sup>

I am making such an extensive quotation because the authors' conclusions are important not only as a verification of the situation extant in the village at the end of 1927 and beginning of 1928, but as a possible general description of the situation in the Chinese village in recent times as well. In making this important conclusion, the authors, it seems to me, were unable to avoid the beneficial influence of the monograph that had appeared not long before by A.M. Grigoryev in which is contained a deep analysis of the development of the revolutionary process at the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s.<sup>25</sup> This analysis, based on an enormous amount of factual material, made obvious the inconsistent nature of the very postulation of the question of agrarian revolution itself in the literal sense of the word.

Making use of a broad range of CCP documents and materials, A.M. Grigoryev shows that party leadership tries to "ignite" the flame of agrarian revolution. This "ignition" led to an extreme worsening of village poverty in the regions controlled by the armed forces of the CCP, and their speeches were accompanied by "not only murders of representatives of the exploiting segments, but the slaughtering of entire villages ('alien,' 'hostile') and outbursts of internecine fighting among clans, 'local' and 'newly arrived' ones, arson and destruction in the exodus from cities."<sup>26</sup> The merit of the research is that it is not limited to this (albeit important in and of itself) assertion, but was able to uncover the reasons that forced the CCP leadership to try to the utmost to radicalize their policies in the village. The authors justly see these reasons as the objective lack of preparedness of the villages to take up the slogans of agrarian revolution: the peasantry did not advance demands for the destruction of the landowner system and the more so the egalitarian redistribution of the land, but rather strove first and foremost for a reduction in taxes, lease payments and loan interest.<sup>27</sup> Under these

conditions, radical agrarian transformations could be carried out only "from above." Foisting this radicalism onto the peasantry, however, frequently led to the opposite result--the hostility of the peasantry toward the new organs of power and the CCP grew, and in several soviet regions there even "occurred uprisings of the peasantry against the Red Army and local organs of power."<sup>28</sup> The policy of agrarian revolution led the CCP into a dead end in the time period under consideration in A.M. Grigoryev's book and became an important reason for its worst defeats. This is one of the main conclusions that the book is able to reach.<sup>29</sup>

The research of A.A. Pisarev<sup>30</sup>, although devoted first and foremost to an analysis of Guomindang policies but at the same time broadly postulating the problem of the agrarian situation in China in recent history, is affiliated with this work and aids in a correct evaluation of the socio-political realities of the struggle in the Chinese village.

The development of problems that seemingly have no direct relation to this topic also made their contribution to the formation of a new approach to illuminating the agrarian peasant question. Thus, in historical-sociological research on the Chinese village, N.I. Tyapkina convincingly demonstrated the significance of vertical social ties among the rural population (commune, clan, secret societies and the like) in the development of social and class contradictions in the Chinese village and in that manner substantially added to the primarily economic approach to the problem of A.S. Mugruzin.<sup>31</sup>

A new understanding of the contradictions in the Chinese village is reflected in works on the history of China after 1949. In his well-known research of the socio-political structure of the PRC, V.G. Gelbras, speaking of the situation in the Chinese village in the revolutionary years, writes: "Over the course of almost the whole first half of the 20th century, the rural population of China first joined in a common struggle for restraining the excessive independence of political power and abuses of officialdom, then split up when matters reached the execution of agrarian reform. Both the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' therein infringed on the basis of the foundations of feudal-patriarchal relations."<sup>32</sup> This conclusion of a leading specialist on problems of the socio-economic development of China is extremely important, testifying to the indisputability of the new approach to the agrarian peasant question for many Chinese scholars. Also important is the fact that V.G. Gelbras bases his subsequent analysis of the resolution of the agrarian peasant question in the PRC namely on the new approach, demonstrating its enormous explanatory capabilities.

All of this, it seems to me, testifies to the quite diverse development of the new approach to the treatment of the agrarian peasant question in the Chinese Revolution and the preparation of conditions for works of a summary nature. And such works have appeared.

I would like to note first and foremost the monograph "Recent History of China. 1928-1949," in which a broad canvas of the development of the revolutionary process in China is done.<sup>33</sup> The agrarian peasant question occupies a significant place herein, being illuminated at all stages of the Chinese Revolution of the 1930s and 1940s. Unfortunately, the book does not



pretend to a theoretical interpretation of these problems, being limited basically to the descriptive aspect. This aspect, however, is also extremely important, since--as the authors of all of its sections well demonstrate--they did not even need the term "agrarian revolution" itself, and the real factual material of the description of the revolutionary process could not be treated with the aid of this concept.

The section devoted to the events of 1945-1949 is especially important for our theme. The title of the section itself is typical, as given by its author, I.Ya. Viktorov: "Agrarian Reform in the Liberated Regions." The author demonstrates convincingly that "distortions and exaggerations" in efforts to conduct a radical agrarian peasant policy came to discredit the CCP. "A wild outburst of lumpen-peasant elements occurred in the village," writes I.Ya. Viktorov about the activity of the "workers' groups" sent to the village "from above," "connected with the prevalence of 'unions of the poor and the farm-workers' of the darkest and most backward elements of the village in the leadership--opium smokers, soldiers that had deserted the militarist army, people without specific occupations who were evading productive labor--the 'size of whose property,' naturally, was miserly... The violation of the interests of the average peasants took on a large scale, which in a number of places provoked spontaneous disturbances."<sup>34</sup> All of this strikingly recalls the efforts to "ignite" agrarian revolution in the 1920s and 1930s as discussed above. The materials of this section, based on a study by I.Ya. Viktorov of a considerable circle of China sources, would seem to complete the description of the processes that transpired in the village in the revolutionary years--a description made by Soviet Chinese scholars that had overcome outmoded stereotypes.

The first attempt at a theoretical summarization of the fundamental shifts in Soviet historiography in the consideration of the agrarian peasant question in the Chinese Revolution was made in a long article by V.I. Giunin and A.S. Mugruzin. Being a serious research work, this article introduces much that is new into the study of these problems and sums up to a certain extent the evolution of the views of the authors toward it and at the same time fixes the line already reached by our historiography. The conclusions in this article are thus seem especially important to me for a further deepening of research. Here are some of the most significant positions of the article, in my opinion: "Over the whole course of the democratic stage of revolution since the beginning of the 20th century, the dominant significance of the national factor over the social can be traced quite distinctly... The study of the true face of the Chinese peasantry and its real behavior and place in the revolution leads to the conclusion that it did not and could not play the role that the Maoists ascribe to it. The 'peasant' or 'agrarian-peasant' nature of the Chinese Revolution can be discussed only in an extremely limited and narrow sense... Over the whole course of it (the democratic stage of the revolution--A.M.), the peasantry overall or individual segments of it were never the main, the more so the leading, driving force... The main body of the peasantry was inert..."<sup>35</sup>

In quoting these positions, I would like to emphasize once again that they were the result of internal historiographical processes free of any extra-scholarly requirements. The former approach, however, is ceding its position



with great reluctance, which in and of itself is quite consistent and is the legacy of the persistence with which the postulate of agrarian revolution as the chief mechanism for the coming to power of the CCP has been asserted over the course of many decades by our historiography. It is typical that those researchers that have not been engaged especially with agrarian problems are the most reluctant to yield.

Thus, the author of the "Conclusions" to the book "Recent Chinese History. 1928-1949" writes: "Agrarian revolution, prepared by the communists over decades, was fully developed after the Second World War and was the foundation for the victory of Chinese democracy."<sup>36</sup> The author of the "Conclusions" herein does not shy away from a complete lack of coincidence of this conclusion with the materials of the book. This "independence" from the factual material was also displayed in the new edition of a book by G.V. Astafyev on the history of American intervention in China. The author asserts in particular that "the most important of the demands of the Chinese popular masses was the implementation of agrarian reform: the elimination of feudal land ownership and the transfer of the land of the landowners, the means of production and habitations to peasants with little or no land." In another place he concludes that "one of the most important manifestations of the democratic forces going over to the offensive against the reaction was the expansion of the agrarian struggle of the peasantry. Its ascent was universal."<sup>37</sup> All of these are spoken of as things taken for granted, as something "fixed" in historiography and therefore, as it seems to the book's author, not in need of proof, facts or references to sources and research. This inertness can also be discerned in the formulation of the agrarian peasant question based on the example of China by non-China scholars.<sup>38</sup>

In my opinion, however, resistance to recognition of the new approach does not occur due to a certain inertness of thinking, from being "accustomed" to old positions alone. It is also associated with the fact that, on the one hand, the adoption of a new approach to the postulation and resolution of the agrarian peasant question inevitably requires a reconsideration of a series of other cardinal problems of the history of the Chinese Revolution, and on the other hand, the new approach itself has clear weaknesses that require considerably more research work in order to be eliminated. While completely sharing the new approach,<sup>39</sup> I would like to point out opportunities for overcoming some of these weaknesses. These opportunities have already been clearly indicated in Soviet historiography.

I would indicate first and foremost the necessity of researching the specific forms for the domination of the national in the Chinese revolution. The very fact of acknowledging this dominance by a considerable portion of Soviet researchers is fundamentally important. After this recognition, the appearance of those specific forms that the national took at various stages of the Chinese revolution should be traced: anti-Manchurianism in the pre-Shanghai period, the unifying imperatives of the 1920s, the idea of national salvation in the struggle against Japanese aggression in the 1930s and the fight with the national treachery of Guomindang in the second half of the 1940s. Such a study of the specific forms of the national will make possible a better understanding of the real social substance of each stage of the Chinese revolution. The correlation of the national and the social was not

identical at various stages of the Chinese revolution. The trend of increase in the role of the social was also not uninterrupted. This process was quite contradictory. At the same time, research of recent years has shown that in the 1940s, with the retention of national-liberation tasks, there was a clear increase in social-liberation tasks, albeit not at the expense of raising the role of the agrarian problem. In the latter stages of the Chinese national-liberation revolution (which in some works is considered the national-democratic stage), socio-economic factors appeared more and more often as both the goals of the revolution and the mechanism of consistent movement. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie is becoming the main object of revolution, while the concentration of revolutionary efforts on this extremely narrow group of social and national exploiters (and--with "combined responsibilities"--traitors) made possible the creation of a broad unified national front. In this new situation, the agrarian question occupied a subordinate position as before.

A second direction that is able to strengthen the reasoning in favor of the new approach to resolving the agrarian peasant question is connected, in my opinion, with an elaboration of the concepts of agrarian relations in the Chinese village as proposed by A.S. Mugruzin that at one time played a decisive role in the postulation of the new approach to the agrarian peasant question. This concept proceeded from the semi-feudal nature of the Chinese village in the first half of the 20th century.<sup>40</sup> A recognition of the transitional (semi-feudal, semi-capitalist) nature of the agrarian institution in the Chinese village opened up significant opportunities for the interpretation of the social psychology and political behavior of the rural population under conditions of the development of the revolutionary processes under CCP leadership. In his later works, however, A.S. Mugruzin displays, in my opinion, a certain inconsistency: without rejecting in its most general form the definition of the Chinese village as semi-feudal, in specific analysis of social processes he emphasizes the feudal nature of the landholding system of economic operation and the landholder himself along with the traditional nature of the peasantry.<sup>41</sup> This accentuation materially limits the explanatory possibilities of A.S. Mugruzin's concept and does not permit a full regard for the influence of capitalist evolution on the socio-political situation in the village.

And this influence should be taken into account in at least two regards. First, in transforming the multifaceted rural exploiter into the "leader of a distinctive 'economy' with a vested interest in obtaining specific types of products and following the competitive market,"<sup>42</sup> as well as in transforming the rich peasant into such a figure, capitalist evolution not only did not oppose these segments that had become bourgeois with traditional (feudal) elements, but on the contrary united them for the defense of privileges using traditional methods of exploitation that were well adapted to the new (and objectively capitalist) goals of production. All of this sharply reduced the bourgeois (and consequently, anti-feudal!) potential of these new social forces and in a socio-political regard transformed them into elements that were more conservative than revolutionary--as opposed to how it was in "classic" European (and Russian) feudalism.<sup>43</sup> Second, the active expansion of money-exchange relations, especially in the most economically developed provinces, led to the fact that in the 20th century the division into "haves--

have-nots," which played such an important role in the formation of the social situation in the village, proceeded not so much at the level of land ownership as at the level of other property factors, and moreover the land did not play a decisive role in regions with intensive market production.<sup>44</sup> These consequences of the gravitation of the villages of the most developed provinces to capitalist evolution in no way reduced social tension in the village, but at the same time directed it somewhat into a different channel than in traditional (medieval) China. Further study of the specific features of the capitalist evolution of the Chinese village will thus aid in understanding the fundamental distinctions of the socio-political and socio-psychological consequences (the absence of a mechanism of agrarian revolution) compared to the Russian village and in seeing that this evolution even undermined the incentives for a peasant fight that the 20th-century village had inherited from the middle ages.

It is finally necessary to point out the fact that a rejection of the concept of agrarian revolution has still not been accompanied by the discovery of an effective mechanism for mobilizing the peasant masses by the Chinese Communist Party in the course of the consistent development of the revolution. The CCP and its armed forces were based namely on the peasantry, revolutionary bases were located in the villages, the "route of the revolution" led to the city through the village--all of this requires its own interpretation, today aside from the concept of agrarian revolution. In my opinion, the materials of Soviet historiography make it possible to answer quite convincingly this most important question without resorting to outdated concepts. Rational interpretation of the mechanism of interaction of the CCP and its armed forces with the peasantry has been made more difficult, in my opinion, by the over-emphasis on agrarian problems. The dominance of an "agrarian" approach, a perception of the rejection of radical agrarian transformations as "concessions" to the landowners or Guomindang and an attitude toward agrarian turnaround as the chief goal of the revolutionary process in the village, have hindered the objective evaluation of other aspects of CCP policies in the village after 1937, which policies, strictly speaking, predetermined its historic triumph.<sup>45</sup>

The most important of these other aspects capable of explaining the mechanism of the connection of the CCP with the peasantry and in that manner replacing the former postulation of the agrarian question is the creation of a new power structure in place of the old local landowner-shenshi power structure, closely connected with the Guomindang state apparatus, in the village by the communists and their armed forces. This structure was created by CCP armed forces passing through the village from elements that were diverse in social origin that allied their fate with the new political regime and joined the ranks of the CCP. The village administration, the self-defense forces, tax collection, the courts, education and health care and the like all fell under the monitoring of the newly created local party organizations. Enormous power was concentrated in their hands, directed by the CCP and successfully bringing to life all of its political instructions (aside from purely radical agrarian transformations). This new socio-political structure was a genuine support for the CCP in the localities, replacing the former village "masters." Over the course of 1937-1949, the struggle for power at the lower, "village" level was also a struggle for the strengthening of the social base of the party.



The very creation of a lower-level power apparatus loyal to the CCP was more and more the foundation of all transformations in the village.

Soviet researchers of all stages of the recent history of China have turned their steadfast attention to the problem of power in the village and the connection of this new power with CCP policies and the methods and forms of leading the peasantry. Particular attention was always devoted, fully justifiably, to the role of the peasant unions.<sup>46</sup> Soviet historiography has accumulated an enormous amount of factual and analytical material on these problems which from the appropriate point of view can give a convincing answer to the question posed herein.

The further development of these areas (as well as others, naturally) will make it possible, it seems to me, to affirm conclusively the new approach to the postulation and resolution of the agrarian peasant question in China. In concluding this review of the history of the way the new approach to postulating and resolving the agrarian peasant question in China took shape, I would like to emphasize that the adoption of this approach signifies no diminishment or underestimation of the agrarian peasant question in China (as it already seems to some), it is dictated just by the desire to understand correctly its objective (and very important, even largely decisive) place in the development of Chinese society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol 47, p 229.
2. Thus, in the well-known "Resolutions of the CCP CC on Some Issues in the History of our Party since the Time of the Formation of the PRC," in an exposition and analysis of the history of the victory of the Chinese revolution, the very concept of "agrarian revolution" or "peasant revolution" is lacking, while on the nature of the revolutionary process it is stated: "...the chief form of the revolution could only be a prolonged armed struggle. Armed struggle in China took the form of revolutionary warfare led by the proletariat with the participation of the peasantry as the basic force." (RENMIN RIBAO. 1 Jul 81). These positions differ radically from the program directives of Mao, which were still very recently the fundamental ones for Chinese historical studies. Thus, the assertion of Mao that the CCP could come to power only through a "peasant revolution," that the "Chinese revolution is, in essence, a peasant revolution..." was considered indisputable. (Mao Tsetung. Selected Works. Vol 3, Moscow, 1953, p 246). Shifts in semi-official historiography are occurring against a background of profound changes in historical studies in the PRC and can be correctly regarded in the broader context of historiographical discussions associated with a review of role of peasant movements in the history of China (see, for example: "Ooshchestvenhiye nauki v KNR" [The Social Sciences in the PRC]. Moscow, 1986, pp 5-6, 176-177.
3. A.S. Mugruzin. "Agrarnyye otnosheniya v Kitaye v 20-40-kh godakh XX v." [Agrarian Relations in China in the 1920s-1940s]. Moscow, 1970.
4. Ibid., p 5.



## JOINT USSR-GDR RESEARCH WORK ON AFRICAN HISTORY REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 87 pp 202-204

[Review by V.A. Subbotin of book "Izucheniye istorii Afriki" [Studying the History of Africa]. Editors-in-chief B.B. Piotrovskiy and B.M. Tupolev. Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1985, 304 pp]

[Text] The anthology under review, compiled from articles by historians of the USSR and East Germany, contains three sections devoted to Soviet (as well as Russian pre-revolutionary), German and African researchers. The works of one or several historians, ethnographers and legal scholars served as the theses for some of the articles; other articles considered whole academic disciplines. In the face of the diversity of materials, a certain integrity was characteristic of the anthology, caused by the subject of research itself (the historiography of Africa) and the unity of methodology used by the USSR and GDR specialists.

The article on Greco-Roman Egypt by A.I. Pavlovskaya touches on the pre-revolutionary and Soviet period in historiography. The author devotes especial attention in particular to those scholars working before the revolution (M.I. Rostovtsev, M.M. Khvostov), for whom socio-economic relations were the central topic. The exposition of their works testifies that the socio-economic problems that later occupied the forefront in Soviet Egyptology were the object of careful study before the revolution as well. It is true that it remains unclear why A.I. Pavlovskaya includes the views of M.I. Rostovtsev and M.M. Khvostov among bourgeois-sociological ones just on the grounds that they both saw a feudal society in ancient Egypt (pp 8, 10). I would note in this regard that M.M. Khvostov felt the influence of Marxism. This is also confirmed by his interest in the status of the lower segments. As for the representations of the feudal nature of ancient Egyptian society, it was later shared by a number of Soviet authors. The concepts of Soviet historians are analyzed by A.I. Pavlovskaya in chronological sequence, demonstrating the importance of their interpretations of documents (N.N. Pikus, A.B. Ranovich) and the significance of surveys of finds of Egyptian items on the territory of the USSR (B.B. Piotrovskiy), revealing the substantiveness of the works of K.K. Zelin, who in 1960 came to a conclusion that placed in doubt the unilateral approach to evaluating the role of slavery in Egypt. "Slave labor did not play a material role in agricultural production," wrote K.K. Zelin, "but the existence of slavery made an

impression on the working conditions and the position of various segments of the working population in society..." (p 28). A.I. Pavlovskaya also notes the attempts of other Soviet authors, for example I.F. Fikhman, to give a possibly more complete description of the components of ancient Oriental society and reveal the dynamics of its development, especially growth in the role of free labor from approximately the 4th century A.D.

More than half of the articles in the anthology are devoted to individual historians and ethnographers. Thus, G.V. Tsyarkin writes of the multifaceted activity of B.A. Turayev--Egyptologist and commentator on Ethiopian affairs--and A.A. Zhukov writes on D.A. Oldorogge, whose circle of interests included history, ethnography and language studies. D.A. Oldorogge researched various ethnographic and linguistic sources, and under his guidance translations of old Hausan texts were prepared; he also has a number of works on general issues of ethnography and the classification of African languages.

Soviet historiographers clearly still have much work to do to uncover fully the significance of the works of B.A. Turayev and D.A. Oldorogge. When G.V. Tsyarkin and A.A. Zhukov write with complete justification of them as experts in their field, it is sometimes desirable that these words be confirmed by an analysis of the texts and methods of work. In describing the works of B.A. Turayev, it would be possible to recall, for example, how they were evaluated by M.A. Korostovtsev. He noted that B.A. Turayev published the "History of the Ancient World" at the same time (1911) as "many foreign scholars were explaining the rapid growth and, they assumed, unexpected flourishing of very ancient culture by the appearance of a 'new race' in the Nile valley..."<sup>1</sup> Based on the latest data of archaeology, B.A. Turayev pointed out the continuity of anthropological types in ancient Egypt and the absence of an abrupt break in its culture. The professional conscientiousness of B.A. Turayev permitted him in this case, as in a series of others, to reject divergent ideas and offer genuinely scholarly concepts to the reader. One can judge the research methods of D.A. Oldorogge by, for example, the book "Western Sudan in the 15th-19th Centuries." In considering the legends of the seven cities of Hausa, he observes that the majority of the lists of the cities do not include Kebbi--a major center that surpassed the other cities after the 16th century. Consequently, D.A. Oldorogge concludes, it can be assumed that it was precisely to that time that the appearance of the legends relating to the seven cities can be related, along with the joining of the cities into a union and the Hausa into a nationality.<sup>2</sup> We omit other of his views for brevity, noting only that they, like the preceding ones, confirm the assumptions of the possibility of dating the 16th century as the appearance of a major nationality of Western Africa.

Three German authors--T. Buttner, H. Stokker and P. Zebald--included articles on L. Frobenius, D. Westermann and G.A. Krause in the anthology.

T. Buttner writes that the merits of L. Frobenius in researching African culture are indisputable. The expedition he carried out to southern Nigeria, Cameroon and the area of the lakes of Chad (1910-1912) considerably expanded our conceptions of the art of the Ibo and the Benin, while the expedition to Mauritius (1913-1914), where he followed in the footsteps of the Frenchman G.B.M. Flaman, made it possible to continue research on the noteworthy cave

paintings of the Sahara. It was namely L. Frobenius that laid the foundation for the comparative study of cave painting. As for his views in the realm of history and culture, T. Buttner justly notes their eclecticism. Contacts with F. Razel led L. Frobenius to German geopoliticians, and not surprisingly, he even saw traces of the conflict in southern Africa of the "crude culture of the Bushmen" with some southern Eritrean culture.

Like L. Frobenius, D. Westermann, deemed an authority in official academics until 1933, was not a Nazi. At the same time, H. Stokker points out that his views of Africa as a desirable object of European expansion were present in the works of D. Westermann before and after the First World War. D. Westermann achieved important results in African philology (classification and grammar of a number of languages). Furthermore, prolonged work (1926-1939) as head of the International Africa Institute in London allowed him to write somewhat interesting research in the realm of ethnography and history. His "History of Africa" contains "a largely more authoritative exposition of the problem than in all of the works published before 1950" (p 197). D. Westermann knew the past of West and Central Africa well and that of South and East Africa less well, writes H. Stokker. I would add that D. Westermann was aware of this himself and in a general ethnographic work on Africa felt it necessary to enter into co-authorship with H. Baumann. Their joint work was perhaps not perfect in that which concerns North Africa, but it is the classic work on the countries south of the Sahara. The excellent French translation of the book done by L. Homburgier greatly assisted the popularization of knowledge about Africa.<sup>3</sup>

The article of P. Zebald on G.A. Krause was written based on materials from the State Archives of the GDR (Potsdam) and the press of the end of the 19th century. In using these sources, P. Zebald published a book in 1972 on G.A. Krause--philologist, commentator and traveler in North and West Africa. Thoroughly studying the Hausa, G.A. Krause wandered about as a vagrant peddler and, in the words of one German official, "became completely Negro" (p 174). In 1886-1887 he walked more than 4,000 kilometers through Ashanti and Moshi to the regions of the Dogon settlements, and then returned safely to the shores of the ocean. The contribution of G.A. Krause to African study was considerable. Thanks to his efforts, a collection of Hausa manuscripts (some of which were translated into Russian by D.A. Olderogge) was assembled that enriches our understanding of the history of Central Sudan in the 19th century. As a commentator, G.A. Krause did much to explain the positions of the Africans on a number of issues in the missionary press. In 1884 he refused to sign unequal treaties in the name of the German authorities, and in the 1890s he came out against slave trade in Togo and assisted the bringing of the question of slave trading to discussion in the Reichstag.

The article of I.Ye.Sinitsyna on the contribution of Africans to the study of traditional law on the Gold Coast is devoted to research undertaken by African specialists. The development of common law here was shown in the works of J. Sarba and J. Dankva (before independence) and N.A. Ollennu (in our time). A profound knowledge of traditions and their transformation under conditions of colonial society and the authors' many years of experience in working in the courts transforms these works into a distinctive historical source. I note that the book of J. Sarba on the Fanti (republished three times at the end of



the 19th century) was the first work in which the stability of the customs in the Gold Coast and the closeness of the norms of the Fanti and ancient non-African peoples was proven scientifically.

The articles of A. Ruger and A.M. Pegushev analyze the historiography of sub-Saharan and southern Africa in the GDR and the USSR after the Second World War. The anti-fascist thrust of the works published in the GDR, notes A. Ruger, traces its roots to the publications of progressive authors who were fighting against German imperialism. The reader will find in A. Ruger's article much interesting information on the first African research in the GDR (K. Buttner, L. Ratman), the debate of Marxist historians on issues of evaluating pre-colonial social relations and on publications concerning the history of German colonial policy in Africa (H. Stokker, G. Lot et al).

A.M. Pegushev considers Soviet research on African history as part of the historical and Oriental-studies works written in the USSR. This approach demonstrates the link of African scholars with other disciplines, the choice of topics, the thrust of the works, in short, the specific nature of African research in the USSR. A new phenomenon in particular, writes A.M. Pegushev, was the participation of African scholars (Yu.M. Kobishchanov, V.V. Krylov) in the discussions of the 1960s on the Asian mode of production (p 111). In speaking of the essence of the discussion, I note that A.M. Pegushev is apparently correct in feeling that "the 'feudal' and 'slave-owning' versions, in all of their seeming contradictoriness, have much in common..." (p 112). The core of the research on modern history, the article's author writes, is the problem of orienting the social development of the liberated countries. Many Soviet authors are working successfully in this area, and a number of individual and collective works have been published.

The anthology under review leaves a good impression overall and gives a depiction of how African studies developed in the past and what its contemporary problems are.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. M.A. Korostovtsev. "Stanovleniye egiptologii v Rossii.--Izucheniye Afriki v Rossii (dorevolutsionnyy period)" [The Creation of Egyptology in Russia.--The Study of Africa in Russia (Pre-Revolutionary Period)]. Moscow, 1977, p 11.
2. D.A. Olderogge. "Zapadnyy Sudan v XV-XIX vv. Ocherki po istorii i istorii kultury" [Western Sudan in the 15th-19th Centuries. Sketches in History and Cultural History]. Moscow--London, 1960, pp 63-77.
3. H. Baumann, D. Westermann. Les peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique. Paris, 1948.

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